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A COMPLEAT AND AUTHENTICK
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS,
AND
EXTINCTION
Of the Late
REBELLION,
And of the
PROCEEDINGS against the PRINCIPAL PERSONS
concerned therein.
CONTAINING

A clear and impartial Narrative of the Intrigues of the *PRETENDER'S* Adherents before the Breaking out of their Design in *North-Britain*; their Proceedings after their taking Arms; their Actions in that Part of the Island before they marched Southwards; their March to *Derby*, and true Reasons of their Retreat; the Dispute at *Falkirk*, and Motives of their transferring the War into the *HIGHLANDS*; with the principal Causes of their Defeat at *Culloden*. Interspersed with the Characters of their chief LEADERS, and a curious Detail of their Negotiations abroad. The whole composed with the greatest Accuracy possible in regard to Facts and Dates, and free from all Mixture of fictitious Circumstances, or ill-grounded Conjectures.

Adorned and illustrated

With exact Plans of the Battles of *Falkirk* and *Culloden*, and the Heads of the *Young Adventurer*, the Earls of *Cromarty* and *Kilmarnock*, Lords *Balmerino* and *Lovat*, and Mr. *Radcliffe*, with an exact Representation of the Beheading of Lord *Lovat*, all neatly engraved on Copper.

DUBLIN:

Printed for E. and J. EXSHAW, at the Bible on *Cork-Hill*.
MDCCXLVII.



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Succinct HISTORY

Of the Late

REBELLION.

THE Merit of a Performance does not at all depend upon its Subject; for the lightest may be raised by an able, the most lofty may be injured by a weak and injudicious Pen. This that I have undertaken is not so much the Result of Choice, as of Necessity; I thought a *succinct History of the Rebellion* equally fit for the Perusal of the present Age, and of Posterity; and after waiting long to see whether this Task would be undertaken and properly performed by an abler Hand, I find myself compelled to try what I can do, because it now becomes visible, that nothing satisfactory will be done. The Event of which I am to speak, though so recent, and so remarkable, is already differently represented by different Sorts of People. Some still retain the Terror impressed by the March of the Rebels to *Derby*, and consider the late Rebellion as an Engine of our Enemies, that brought us to the very Brink of Destruction; and others affect to treat it as a mere Bugbear, as a Raw-head and Bloody-bones, which only frightened weak Minds, and from which no well grounded Apprehensions could arise. But strictly speaking, neither of these Representations deserve entire Credit; the Rebellion was certainly alarming, though not terrible, and a Mischief so great, that no Care ought to be spared to prevent any thing of the like Kind in Times to come; and to this End nothing in my Judgment can more contribute, than a History of the Past, fairly written.

As soon as a War broke out upon the Continent, it was very easy to foresee that something of this Sort would be attempted, as the most effectual Means of forcing us to mind nothing but our own Concerns, and quit all Care of the Balance: And as an introductory Experiment to try the Sentiments and Force of this Nation, in order to form due Notion of our Spirit and Weight, about which some Incertain might be arisen in the Course of so many Years profound Peace. Besides, this might have been suggested to us by former Instances; that if we had really wanted the *Penetration* which constitutes *Politicians*, we might have at least profited by the Lights of EXPERIENCE.

and by remembering the Lessons she had formerly read us, who is reputed a *Mistress* of such Sagacity, as even to succeed in instructing *Fools*. But it does not appear, that we distinguished ourselves as Proficients in either Method; the Storm came upon us before we looked for it, and even the first Effects of its Fury did not rouse us to proper Attention.

But to proceed regularly, it is requisite to give some Account of the Quarter whence this Storm arose, which is very difficult to be done; however, having taken some Pains to enquire into these Matters, and after diligently comparing the Intelligence procured by such Enquiries, the Result will be found, if not a strict Detection of the first brewing this Rebellion, at least a more intelligible View of the earliest Projects of the Rebels, than has hitherto appeared. The *Irish* Partizans of the Chevalier, at the Court of *Madrid*, were the first who proposed an Invasion both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, pretending they had very clear and good Proofs of a strong Spirit of Discontent working in both Countries; so that with the Support of a small Foreign Force, a Revolution might with Probability of Success be attempted.

This was very well received at *Rome*, the eldest Son of the Chevalier de *St. George* having studied for some Years every thing he thought requisite to qualify himself for an Expedition of this Nature. But perhaps it had not taken Effect so soon, if his future Secretary Mr. *Murray* had not represented to him, that it was easy to raise the Clans, if he could be sure of any Assistance from *France*. At this very Time the *Spaniards* were employed in driving the *French* (who were far from being inclined to it) into a War declared against us; and Cardinal *Aquaviva* being let into the Secrets of the Chevalier's Intelligence, undertook that his Catholick Majesty should make a Point of this likewise, and oblige *France* to take a Part in this Scheme, and grant Prince *Edward* such Succours as might appear requisite for carrying his intended Invasion into immediate Execution.

But upon Application to the Court of *Versailles* many Difficulties arose; for several of the *French* Ministers being perswaded they had already more upon their Hands than they could well manage, vehemently opposed adding a new and expensive Project, to those with which they were perplexed before. But there were three Persons in the Councils of that Kingdom determined to support this Proposition on very different Motives, who, though they did not avow it publicly, were however determined to bring it about. Cardinal *Tencin* lent his Hat to the Chevalier, and was always his declared Partizan; *de Saxe* had an irreconcilable and hereditary Hatred to be granted by this Measure; and *M. de Belleisle* judged it agreeable to his general System, the Basis of which was, that the more his Master's Affairs were embroiled, the more necessary his Services would be, the more, consequently, himself and his Family considered. But though these great Men concurred in the Design, they would none
of

of them venture proposing to invite the Chevalier or either of his Sons into *France*, but resolved to procure that Step to be taken without Formality, by the Interposition of Cardinal *Aquaviva*, that they might afterwards be able to disavow it.

Accordingly this Method was taken, and Cardinal *Aquaviva* solicited the Chevalier to consent to his eldest Son's setting out, even before a formal Invitation came from *Paris*; for he was satisfied, that notwithstanding any Appearances the great Men at that Court might wear, they would be very glad to see and to assist the young Man, who on his Side was so desirous of shewing himself, and so confident of Success, that he never left teasing his Father, whose Experience made him less sanguine, till he obtained his Consent; but this was not till he had certain Advices from *France*, that they were meditating an Invasion on *England*, which was in the Winter of 1743, and then he immediately entred on the necessary Preparations.

It was the Month of *February* 1744, before every thing was ready, and the necessary Remittances fixed, in case he should think proper to act upon his own Plan of going into *Scotland*, instead of landing with the *French* Troops, who were on the Point of embarking when he left *Rome*. The Manner of his Departure, which was entirely in the *Italian* Strain, and his Journey to *Genoa*, where he took up some Bills of Exchange, which were very *duly paid*, made a fine Piece in *Italian*, which was presented to all the Friends of the Family at *Rome*, and an Extract sent from thence was printed in our *Gazette*, by Authority. On his Arrival at *Paris* he was very coldly received, more especially by some of the Ministry; and the King seemed a little surprized at the Abruptness of his Appearance. But notwithstanding this, some of the Ministers and the Relations of his Family welcomed him in another Manner, and persuaded him to go and parade at *Dunkirk*, where they were still carrying on the Farce of an Invasion, in which he was brought to act his Part, but with a good deal of Reluctancy. This threw him, in some Measure, out with the Court, and he was left to mind his own Schemes and Projects, without any apparent Countenance all the next Winter.

By this Kind of Management he split his own little Party into Factions, who were as warm in their Debates, as furious in their Contests, and as much soured in their Opinions by these different Sentiments, about the Measures he was to take, as if all their Projects had not been alike empty and chimerical. Those who followed him from *Rome* were absolutely moulded by his Inclinations; they were perfect Courtiers, had nothing to lose but their Lives; and by having experienced a long Scene of Misfortunes, were grown in some measure careless about them. They magnified the Projects, extolled the Cause, and hoped mighty things from the Fortune of their Chief; his *vel*-Person was an Army, and his Presence sufficient to make a whole Ar-

tion revolt. The old Cavaliers, who had remained long in Exile in *France*, and were heartily weary of the Usage they had met with, ran very easily into the same Way of thinking, and were eager for entering upon Action. But the wisest Heads, and greatest Men among them, were in Sentiments directly opposite; they said, he ought well to consider his first Expedition, for if he failed in that, it would never probably be in his Power to make another; they said, that risking his Person was nothing, in Comparison of risking his Friends; and that every Measure he took towards raising an unsuccessful Rebellion, was a Step in favour of his Enemies.

The latter Party were so much in Earnest, that they applied to the *French* Court to desire they would interpose, and received a Promise to that Effect. But the *French* Ministers were well enough pleased to see things take this Turn, hoping he would make a desperate Attempt himself, at much less Expence than if abetted by them; persuaded that whether successful or not, he would do their Business, and create such a Disturbance in *Britain* as might affect our publick Credit. In publick therefore, and even under their Hands they opposed and discountenanced his Scheme for an Invasion, but privately they applauded it, and expressed a vast Confidence in the heroic Disposition of the young P. and made no scruple of saying, that by venturing upon such an Exploit he would surprize his Friends, amaze and confound his Enemies, and put the King and his Ministers under a Necessity of owning, assisting and supporting him for ever. Thus they managed, cheated and betrayed both Parties.

The Arrival of the Pretender's eldest Son in *France*, could not but give great Reason to suspect that something was meditating there in his Favour, nor was it long before there was evident Signs of an intended Invasion, though, as we have shewn, the *French* Court pretended to have no Knowledge of the young Chevalier's Journey; and it was even suggested by the *French* Party in *Holland*, that M. *Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for having given that young Adventurer those Hopes which drew him into *France*. However, in the Summer of the Year 1745, it was known that some Preparations were privately making for an Expedition into *Scotland*; and a principal Officer in the *French* Navy raised a Company of one hundred Men, under Pretence of the *East India* Company's Service, which were stiled *Grassins de Mer*, and were handsomely clothed in Blue faced with Red. They were put on board a Frigate, carrying eighteen Guns; and every thing being now ready, the young Chevalier came privately from the House of the Duke *de Fitz-James* to *Port Lazare* in *Brittany*, where on the fourteenth of *July* he embarked with about fifty *Scots* and *Irish*, in order to have sailed round *Ireland*, and land in the North-West of *Scotland*.

This Frigate of his was joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of sixty-six Guns, which had been taken from us by the *French*

French in the last War, and was now extremely well manned for this Service. In their Passage she fell in with a Fleet of *English* Merchantmen under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz. the *Lyon*, commanded by the gallant Captain *Brett*, engaged the *Elizabeth* for nine Hours, but soon after the Engagement began, the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The *Elizabeth*, when Night came on, made a Shift to get away, and returned to *Brest* quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty dangerously wounded; she had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, which, no Doubt, were to have been landed with the Pretender for the Use of his Adherents.

As for the Frigate before-mentioned, she cruized for some Days between the Islands of *Bara* and *Uyst*, and at last stood in for the Coast of *Lochabar*, and there landed betwixt the Islands of *Mull* and *Skie* the young Chevalier and his Attendants. He went first to the House of Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kenloch-Moidart*, that is, the Head of the Lake *Moidart*, where he remained for some time before he was in any Condition to shew himself in Publick; but about the middle of *August*, being joined by the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, the *Macdonalds* of *Glengary*, the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, and others of the Clans, to the Number of between fifteen hundred and two thousand Men, he resolved to set up his Standard. This was accordingly done, and the Motto he made Choice of was TANDEM TRIUMPHANS, that is *At length Triumphant*.

About the middle of *August* he appeared with his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Fort-William*, and about this Time published several of his Father's Manifesto's; among which one was dated in 1743, which plainly shewed that an Invasion was then intended; another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent, and a third containing large Promises to the People of *Scotland*. Soon after, two Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were sent to reconnoitre, and were most of them taken Prisoners, as Captain *Sweatnam* of *Guy's* Regiment was presently after; but he was released upon his Parole; and it was from this Gentleman that the first distinct Accounts were obtained of the Force, Disposition, and Design of the Rebels, who began then to think themselves strong enough to march Southward, which they very speedily prepared to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Knight of the *Bath*, was at this Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and had the entire Direction of Military Affairs there; in Consequence of which he drew together the Troops then in that Kingdom, armed the Militia, and took such other Precautions as he thought requisite, and at length judged it expedient to march Northward, in order to find out the Enemy, supposing that they would either wait for him at the Chain, which is the Name usually given to the great Road Cross the

the Island from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*; or endeavour to meet and fight him in his Passage; but they did neither: For while the General made a long and fatiguing March to *Inverness* the Rebels gave him the Slip, and instead of marching through the Pass of *Corryerrock*, they took the Way over the Mountains: and the first News heard of them was, that they had taken Possession of *Perth* on the 4th of *September*, and on the 5th the Pretender was publickly proclaimed there.

It was now known that several Persons of Distinction had declared for, and were in Arms to assist the Chevalier, particularly the Person called the Duke of *Perth*, Chief of the noble Family of *Drummond*, and Son of the Earl of *Perth*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who followed the Fortunes of the late King *James*, and was by him created a Duke in *France*: the late Marquis of *Tullibardin* now styling himself Duke of *Athol*, eldest Son to the late Duke, but attainted for the Share he had in the last Rebellion; Lord *George Murray*, his Brother, and several others; by which their Numbers so much increased, that on the 11th they began their March towards the *Forth*, which River they passed at the *Kreus*, by fording it on the 13th, and seemed to direct their Rout towards *Glasgow*, which City the young Chevalier summoned, but receiving no Answer, they on the 14th diverted their March Eastward towards *Edinburgh*.

In the mean time Sir *John Cope* reached *Inverness*, from whence he dispatched Orders Southward, for Transports to be sent to him to *Aberdeen*, in order to bring his Forces back by Sea to the Port of *Leith*; and with this View he marched with all possible Expedition from *Inverness* to *Aberdeen*, where he embarked his Men, and on the 16th of *September* entered the Harbour of *Dumbar*, where the next Day the Men landed, and on the 18th the Artillery. They were scarce well ashore, before they had Advice of the City of *Edinburgh* being in the Hands of the Rebels, with whom the Lord Provost, and some other Magistrates, had a kind of Treaty on the 16th in the Evening, and Terms being settled, the Rebels entered the Place the next Morning about Five o'Clock. General *Guest* had retired into the Castle with a small Number of regular Troops; the Bank, and most of the publick Offices, having been removed into that Fortress before. Brigadier *Fowke*, with *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, having joined Sir *John Cope's* Army, they, on the 19th, marched from *Dumbar*, and encamped at Night on the West Side of *Haddingtown*; the next Morning early they continued their March, and in the Evening reached *Preston Pans*, the *Highlanders* appearing on the high Grounds to the South of them, so that they were very near each other, and some Firing passed during the Night.

It is not easy to say, at least with Certainty, of what Number of Men each Army consisted; the Regiments that Sir *John Cope* had with him were Colonel *Gardiner's* and Major-General *Hamilton's* Dragoons; Lieutenant General *Guise's* Col. *Lee's*, Col. *Murray's*, Col. *Lascelles's*,

Lascelles's, and the Earl of *Loudon's* Regiments of Foot; but of these there was one only complete. As for the Rebels, the largest Number mentioned in any of our Accounts, was five thousand, but they owned themselves no more than three Thousand; and it is agreed, that not above one Half of these engaged.

They attacked the King's Troops about Three in the Morning, and the Dragoons breaking on the first Fire, left the Foot exposed to the *Highlanders*, by whom, after a short Dispute, they were defeated, a considerable Number killed, and the best Part of the rest made Prisoners, the few Field-Pieces they had with them being likewise taken. The Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume* having rallied the Dragoons, retired with them to *Lauder*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*; Brigadier *Fowke*, and Col. *Lascelles* came back to *Dumbar*, and Sir *John Cope* went to *Berwick*. This is, by some, called the Battle of *Presten Pans*, by others the Battle of *Seaton*, from two little Towns near which it was fought; but if it must be stiled a Battle, it is more properly the Battle of *Glaidesmuir*, since that was the Field of Battle, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East from *Edinburgh*.

A LIST of the Officers Killed and Wounded.

Colonel *Gardiner's* Dragoons: Col. *Gardiner*, killed; Lieut. Col. *Whitney*, wounded; Major *Bowles*, wounded.

Hamilton's Dragoons: Lieutenant Col. *Wright*, wounded.

Lascelles's Foot: Capt. *Steuart*, killed; Ensign *Bell*, much wounded.

Murray's: Capt. *Leslie*, slightly wounded: Ensign *Haldane*, dangerously wounded.

Guise's: Capt. *Pointz*, dangerously wounded; Capt. *Holwell*, killed.

Leo's: Capt. *Brother*, killed; Capt. *Rogers*, killed; Lieut. Col. *Whiteford*, slightly wounded.

The Rebels, after this Engagement, continued at *Diddistoun* and *Musselburgh* on the 22d and 23d, and did not return to *Edinburgh* till the 24th. On the 28th, they sent out Parties to *Haddingtoun* and *Dumbar*, and the same Day they sent away most of the private Men they had taken Prisoners, to *Perth*. On the 29th, they sent the Officers they had taken thither likewise; and that Evening they began to take their Measures for cutting off all Communication between the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Town, which, considering that they wanted heavy Artillery, and indeed all other Requisites for a Siege, was a very needless and wild Attempt, and served only to expose themselves to considerable Loss, as appeared by the Event, and might have been easily foreseen.

On the first of *October* they opened their Trenches on the *Castle-Hill*, a little below the Reservoir; upon which, they began to fire upon them from the Castle, killing three Men, and wounding a commanding Officer: so that by four in the Afternoon they abandoned their Works. The City of *Glasgow* being summoned the second Time, and fifteen thousand Pounds being demanded by way of Con-

tribution, they were constrained to compound the Matter for five thousand Guineas, which were immediately paid. Hostilities continued between the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Rebels, till the Fifth in the Evening, when several Houses being beat down by the Artillery, and the Rebels having lost twenty Men in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garrison from the *Castle-Hill*, the Communication between the Town and Castle was restored, and Hostilities ceased.

On the Seventh, the Rebels demanded half a Crown in the Pound from the Landlords of Houses in *Edinburgh*, under Pain of military Execution. About the middle of this Month they were joined by considerable Reinforcements under the Command of several Persons of Distinction, particularly old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, *Forbes* Lord *Pitligo*, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and others. They likewise received from Abroad considerable Supplies of Ammunition, military Stores, small Arms, and some Field-Pieces. There was also one Mr. *Boyer*, or, as he styled himself, *Marquis de Guilles*, came over in one of these Vessels from *France*, as an Agent, whom they were pleased to dignify with the Title of Ambassador. Towards the latter end of the Month, a great Part of their Army marched to *Dalkeith*, to which Place they removed their Field-Pieces and Ammunition; and having erected a Battery at *Alloway*, to secure the Passage of the *Firth*, they transported from *Montrose*, *Stonehive*, and other Places, the Supplies they had received from Abroad, in one hundred and eighty five Carts, and by other Dispositions plainly shewed that they had taken a Resolution to march Southward, and were in earnest preparing to execute it.

His Majesty, in the mean time, had been pleased to declare Field Marshal *Wade* Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North. Our Forces soon began to move that Way, and the *Dutch* Troops were landed at *Newcastle*, as also Part of the *British* Forces that were recalled from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*. The *Trial* Sloop likewise brought into *Bristol* a *Spanish* Ship, on board of which were two thousand five hundred Fusils with Bayonets, and one hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, seven Chests of Money, &c. designed for the Service of the Rebels. By this Time likewise the Militia in the Northern Counties were raised, and Associations and voluntary Contributions set on foot in most Parts of the Kingdom.

In the County of *York* particularly, through the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbishop, assisted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raised, clothed, and disciplined at the Expence of the County. There was likewise a considerable Body of Gentlemen Volunteers on Horseback, who served at their own Expence, put in Motion under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, styled the *Royal Hunters*. In *Scotland*, the Lord President of the Court of Session, *Duncan Forbes* Esq; distinguished himself by his Zeal and Activity,

Activity, in distributing Commissions for raising several Independent Companies in the North, which were to be put under the Command of the Right Honourable the Earl of *London*; so that by the end of the Month, there was an Army of 14,000 Men formed in the North of *England*, and a very considerable Body raised in the North of *Scotland*, for the Security of *Inverness*, *Fort William*, and other Garrisons there; which military Preparations, joined to the loyal Spirit which shewed itself in all Parts of the Nation, and more particularly at *London*, very probably disappointed the Designs of the Disaffected, hindered many from joining the Rebels, and even drew off some who had gone to *Edinburgh* with that Resolution. This was not much considered at that Time, but we have Reason to judge so since: and therefore there is no cause to censure the Expence the Nation was put to by these Levies, tho' they did not enter on immediate Service; they shewed the Sense of the People, they protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and awed the *Highlanders* for some Time.

On the first of *November*, the young Chevalier came to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, and caused the Noble Palace there belonging to his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, and which is reputed one of the finest Houses in *Scotland*, to be prepared for his Reception, and there he fixed his Head Quarters, as lying very conveniently either for sending Spies or Detachments, to see what was doing in the North of *England*. He had however but cool Encouragement, some refusing to read his Letters, and several of his Emissaries being seized at *Newcastle*, *Berwick*, and at other Places. He detached two advanced Corps from thence, one of which marched towards *Pennycook*, and the other to *Loanhead*, both Places being in the Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*; these Detachments escorted their Baggage and Ammunition in about one Hundred and Fifty Carts and Waggon, and near the same Number of Sumpter Horses. On the Fifth their Forces began their March Southwards in three Columns.

At this Time the Duke of *Perth* (as he stiled himself) had the Title of General, Lord *George Murray* had the Post of Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, who is eldest Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, commanded those that were about the Person of the young Pretender, and were stiled his Life-Guards; the unfortunate Earl of *Kilmarnock* acted as Colonel of Hussars; and Lord *Pitligo* had the Command of the *Angus* Horse.

But though, in regard to their Interests, these People were honoured with those Commands, it was known that the Pretender confided entirely in a few Persons, most of whom came over with him. At the Head of his Councils was Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who had been long about him, an *Irish* Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity: Col. *Sullivan*, who had been a little while in the *French* Service, and was somewhat of an Engineer; General *Macdonald*, an *Irish* Officer, who was his Aid de Camp; Mr. *Kelly*,

who was so long in the Tower on the Affair of the late Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and Mr. *Murray* of *Broughton*, who acted all along as his Secretary. The Number of Men that the Pretender had with him at this Juncture, hath been ſo very differently reported, that it is not eaſy to aſſign it with any Certainty; but according to the moſt authentic Accounts we have had ſince, they ſeem to have been about ſeven Thouſand, ſome of whom, when they conſidered the Dangers to which they were expoſed, deſerted. But notwithſtanding th's and other Diſappointments, the Rebel Chiefs continuing firm in their firſt Reſolution, began to paſs the *Tweed* on the ſixth, and the ſame Day their advanced Guards entered *England*.

His Excellency Field Marshal *Wade* was by this Time arrived at *Newcaſtle*, had formed the King's Army there, and would have marched to fight the Rebels, if he had not found it neceſſary to be firſt informed whether they really intended to invade *England*, and which Rout they meant to take, that of *Newcaſtle* or *Carlisle*. He cauſed likewiſe a Declaration to be publiſhed, promiſing Pardon to ſuch of the *Highlanders* as returned to their Duty by the 12th of *November*, and took ſuch Precautions for the Security of the adjacent Country, as obliged the Rebels, who were too far advanced to think of retiring into *Scotland*, to throw themſelves into the *Western Road*, to which their People in general, and moſt of their Chiefs, ſeemed at firſt to be leaſt inclined.

The Rigour of the Season; their late forced Marches, and a kind of Flux among the Soldiers, retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for ſome Time; but good Quarters, proper Refreshments, and the extraordinary Care of their Officers, ſoon overcame thoſe Difficulties, and put the Army in ſo good a Condition, as enabled them to go through the Winter Campaign with fewer Inconveniencies and much leſs Loſs than could be reaſonably expected, conſidering the great Hardſhips and exceſſive Fatigues to which thoſe Corps particularly, that had ſerved all the Summer in *Flanders*, were expoſed.

On the ſeventh of *November*, the Rebel Army advanced to *Haly-baugh*; and from thence ſent out Parties to ſcour the adjacent Country. On the 8th they came to *Langton*, and on the 9th they appeared on a Moor two miles from the City of *Carlisle*. This Place, which is the chief Town in *Cumberland*, was formerly very ſtrong, and conſidered as a Bulwark againſt the *Scots*. The beſt Part of its old Walls were ſtanding; and the Caſtle, though an ancient irregular Fortreſs, had ſuch Remains of Strength, that in the Opinion of Colonel *Durand*, who commanded there, it was tenable againſt a better Army than that of the Rebels. In point of Force, there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and ſome Invalids in the Caſtle; ſo that when the young Pretender ſummoned them, they abſolutely reſuſed to give up the Place; upon which the Rebels filed off

off towards *Bramton*, where they spent some Time in consulting what was to be done.

It is said that the Officers were inclined to march on, but the Men shewing a Desire to return to *Carlisle*, it was not judged advisable by their Superiors to cross their Inclinations; and therefore, after cutting a great deal of Wood for Fascines and Scaling Ladders in *Corby* and *Warwick* Parks, they on the thirteenth began to move back towards *Carlisle*. The Place in all Probability might even then have made a Defence, but the Threats of the Rebels had such an Effect, that the white Flag was hung out, and the Town capitulated on the 15th, and the Castle too was given up; but the Governor took Care to withdraw, as disliking the Terms, and persisted in his first Opinion, that the Place might have been defended. Thus this City fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who immediately caused the Pretender to be proclaimed; and put a Garrison into the Castle under the Command of the Duke of *Perth*, who was declared Governor of *Carlisle*; and so continued all the Time the Rebels were in *England*.

As soon as Marshal *Wade* had Intelligence at *Newcastle* of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he resolved, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, to march from thence to the Relief of *Carlisle*; and accordingly on the sixteenth the Army began to move for that Purpose. His Excellency intended to have begun his March as soon as it was light, but moving from the Left, the *Swiss* Troops had the Van, which delayed their Motions several Hours, to the great Prejudice of the Expedition; for the Weather being excessively cold, attended with a deep Snow and a hard Frost, the Troops suffered very much. Major General *Howard* and *Oglethorp*, and the Brigadiers *Chalmers* and *Merdaunt*, marched on Foot at the Head of the Infantry to encourage the Soldiers. It was eight at Night, and very dark, before the Front Line got into the Camp at *Ovington*; and though the Soldiers marched with great Chearfulness; yet the Roads being terribly broke and full of Ice, it was foreseen that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue; and therefore the Major Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorp*, sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to assist the Rear Guard, and bring up the tired Men; in which Service they were employed till near nine the next Morning.

On the seventeenth the Marshal continued his March to *Hexam*, where he arrived with the first Line about Four in the Afternoon; but the Rear of the Army did not come up till near Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that *Carlisle* had surrendered, resolved to march back to *Newcastle*, and accordingly he did; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being become in a Manner impassable, he did not arrive there with the Army till the twenty-second; and even then, the Forces under his Command were so excessively fatigued, that if it had not been for the great Care taken of them by the People of *Newcastle*, who shewed the utmost Zeal and Affection

in providing them Quarters, they must have been in a great Measure ruined by this fatiguing March.

This Invasion of the Rebels having thrown all the Northern and Western Parts of this Kingdom into great Confusion, Directions were given for forming another Army in *Lancashire*, which it was at first intended should be commanded by Sir *John Ligonier*, Knight of the *Bath*. The following new raised Troops, viz. The Duke of *Montague's* and the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse; the Duke of *Ancaſter's*, Earl of *Cholmondeley's*, Earl of *Berkley's*, Earl of *Halifax's*, Lord *Gower's*, and Lord *Herbert's* Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments, were assigned for this Service, and ordered to march into *Staffordshire* directly. The City of *Cheſter* was also put into a Condition of Defence, in a surprizing short Space of Time, by the Care and Diligence of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Cholmondeley*. At *Liverpool* likewise, all necessary Precautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of that Town shewed all the Spirit and Resolution that could be desired.

The Rebels did not continue long at *Carlisle*; for on the nineteenth the young Pretender made his Entry into that City, and on the twentieth his Forces continued their March to *Penrith*, from whence they advanced on the twenty-second to *Kendall*; moved from thence to *Lancaster* on the twenty-fourth, and on the twenty-seventh reached *Preston*. They were at *Wiggan* and *Lee* on the 28th, and in the Afternoon of the same Day an advanced Party entered *Manchester*, where they began to beat up for Volunteers, but with much less Success than they expected, though some few People joined them; and they had likewise picked up some Persons of desperate Fortune in their March, but however no body of any Rank or Distinction came in, which without Doubt was a great Disappointment, for they had flattered themselves with the Hopes of a considerable Insurrection in their Favour.

On the twenty-ninth the main Body of their Army moved towards *Manchester*, and about ten in the Morning their Horse entered the Town, and the Bellman was sent about to require all such as had any publick Money in their Hands to bring it in. About two in the Afternoon the young Pretender, at the Head of a considerable Body of picked *Highlanders*, and in their Dress, marched into *Manchester*, and was proclaimed. In the Evening the Bellman was again sent about to order the Town to be illuminated, and at Night the Rear of their Army arrived; but though they had demanded Quarters for ten Thousand Men, it was judged they never had in *Manchester* above half that Number.

On the thirtieth a Part of the Rebel Army marched for *Stockport*, and the rest for *Knutsford*; they carried off all the Horses they could meet with in the Neighbourhood of *Manchester*; at Night several Parties crossed the River *Mersey* at different Places over Bridges made of Trees and Planks, laid across, in framing of which they compelled

elled the Country People to assist them. It is very remarkable, that during their whole Progress no Discoveries could be made of the Route they intended to take, because they were never given out above an Hour before their March began; and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they were to perform the next Morning; which Secrecy in all Probability preserved them from Destruction; since however formidable they might be at a Distance, those who saw them at *Manchester* and other Places, were very far from thinking they made a dreadful Appearance.

In the mean Time the Duke's Army was forming in *Staffordshire*; for upon the Approach of the Rebels it was resolved that his Royal Highness should be sent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arrived at *Litchfield* on the twenty-eighth of *November*, his Troops being at that Time cantoned with a Line of Cavalry in the Front, from *Tamworth* to *Stafford*, making a very fine Appearance, and well furnished with Artillery and whatever else was requisite for the Service. As to the Force of which his Army consisted, we can only say that the following was looked upon at that Time as the most authentic Account that could be procured.

An exact LIST of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Army.

Veteran Soldiers - - - - - 7,500.

New-raised Soldiers - - - - - 3,000.

Foot - - - - - 10,500.

Veteran Horse - - - - - 1,400.

New-raised Horse - - - - - 800.

In all - - - - - 2,200.

Total of the Army - - - - - 12,700.

The Army under the Command of Field-Marshal *Wade* began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having reached *Darlington* and *Richmond* by the twenty-fifth: And on the twenty-ninth, Marshal *Wade* with the Infantry was at *Persbridge*; from whence he proposed to march to *Wetherby*, and there to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages; looking upon this as the most convenient Situation either for distressing the Enemy in case they should attempt to retire, or for co-operating with his Royal Highness's Forces, as Occasion should require. By these well-concerted Dispositions, all Apprehensions of Danger were in a great Measure taken off, and the Country People began every where to recover their Spirits, and to put themselves in the best Posture of Defence they could, in case of their being visited by these *Highland* Invaders. Such was the Situation of Things at the Close of last *November*; and we are now to return

to

to the Progress of the Rebels so long as they continued to persist in their wild Design of advancing into *South Britain*.

On the first of *December*, the young Chevalier, with the main Body of his Army and all his Artillery, entered *Macclesfield*; and at this Time the greatest Part of the Rebels really expected an Engagement, as appeared by their scaling, firing, and putting in Order their Pieces all the Afternoon and Evening of that Day. But what were the true Intentions of the Chevalier and his Councils of War it is impossible to say, since at first it was believed they intended to march into *Wales*; but perceiving that if they should accomplish that Scheme, they should certainly be shut up there, and reduced to great Necessities in a mountainous Country with which they were not acquainted, they abandoned this Project as impracticable. On the second, about 2000 of their Foot passed by *Gowsworth*, and about the like Number of Horse and Foot entered *Congleton*, from whence they sent a Detachment to *Ashburn*, as if they had an Intention to have struck off to *Newcastle Underline*. The next Day however, these two great Bodies of their Forces advanced, one of them to *Leek*, and the other to *Ashburn*, within fifteen Miles of *Derby*.

On the fourth in the Morning, the Pretender's Son entered *Derby* with near 500 Horse and about 2000 Foot, and in the Evening the rest of their Forces, their Artillery, and their Baggage arrived there likewise; but with all the Precaution possible, to hinder any exact Account from being taken of their Numbers, which was a Point they laboured with the utmost Diligence during their whole March. On their first coming into *Derby*, it was judged both from the Measures they took, and from the Behaviour of the Chiefs, that they were still disposed to march on. In the Evening however, they held several Councils of War, in which the Disputes among their Chiefs rose so high that they could not be concealed; yet they agreed upon nothing that Night, except levying the public Money, which they did with unusual Circumstances of Terror and Violence. The next Day they continued at *Derby*, and about Noon another great Council was held in the Presence of the young Pretender, in which, as it was afterwards known, a final Resolution was taken of returning back into *Scotland*.

It is natural to suppose, that at the Time when such Councils are held, all imaginable Care is taken to preserve Secrecy; but it may be as easily apprehended, that, considering what has since happened, the Particulars of those Consultations might well steal abroad; and as we have learned from such as had occasion to receive very good Informations, the Factions that reigned ever after in the Rebel Army first discovered themselves, or at least first broke out openly here. In the last great Council of War the Question was started by Col. O Sullivan, *Whether they should continue to advance into England, or whether it might be more advisable to think in time, and while it was yet practicable, of a good Retreat?* He understood, it seems, from what had passed

in the former Council of War, that this was the sole Point in Debate, and as such he proposed it.

The Chiefs of the Clans expressed themselves warmly for the Affirmative. They said, that hitherto they had been successful in all their Undertakings; that at *Preston-pans* they had opened a Passage into *England*; that by taking the City of *Carlisle* they had added Reputation to their Arms; that by slipping *Marshal Wade* they had gained an Opportunity of marching on, and that it was not at all improbable, as they had seized *Swarfston-Bridge*, they might slip the Duke of *Cumberland* also; that the Capital was the Kingdom; that no body knew what their approaching it might produce; but that there was no Difficulty in foreseeing, that by a Retreat they should lose their Credit, their Discipline, the Advantages they had gained, their Plunder, and, what was worse, their Spirits; besides what was worst of all, the War would follow them and lay waste their Country.

But the *Lowlanders* and the *French Party* (as they began then to be styled) were absolutely for a Retreat, and that without delay. They said, that they had been deceived into marching so far as they already had done into *England*, by having Hopes given them of great Risings in their Favour; that they had already done all that could be expected from them, and therefore it was Madness to do more; that the *French* landed in *Scotland* (the Troops under Lord *John Drummond*) and those in the Country of *Perth*, being united to their present Army, they might well maintain themselves in *Scotland*, and retake *Edinburgh*, which would do them much more good than to push on with one Army on their Flank, another in their Reat, and a third in Front. For they had been informed, and really believed, there was a numerous Body of the King's Forces arrived at *Nottingham*, independent of the Duke's Troops.

Upon this they were going to put the Question, when the young Chevalier interposed, and observed there might be a middle Way taken. But before he proposed it, he highly commended the Courage of the Clans, who (he said) had often excelled others, and now themselves. He added a kind of Apology for the *Lowlanders*, who he said had Reason on their Side, and that slipping and marching to *London* was at best a dangerous, and might prove a desperate Measure. He observed therefore, that the Armies they had to deal with were separate, and that they might take their Choice of fighting which they pleased; and if they were so lucky as to come off victorious, it would give them Room, encourage such as were for them to declare, and open for them a clear Passage either backward or forward, according to which Army they fought. He was heard with deep Silence, but little Attention, and then the former Question was put.

On the Division, those for the Retreat had a Majority, and immediately insisted that Orders should be delivered for that Purpose, which gave Occasion to some very high Words, and at last some of

their Chiefs (the Clans especially) drew their Swords, and probably some Mischief had been done, if the Pretender himself had not interposed, and with much Difficulty pacified both Sides. It was observed by the People of the Houses where their Principal Commanders quartered, that upon the Rising of this last Council their Chiefs looked very dejected, and that some of them railed at the *French* and *Irish* about the young Pretender, and others made no Scruple of saying they were betrayed. This is certain, that whatever was the Matter, they were thenceforward always diffident of each other, and that the Pretender himself was afterwards not much considered, and but indifferently obeyed.

There was a very just and curious Calculation made of their Numbers while they staid at *Derby*; which was the more easy, because they remained there longer, and were more regularly quartered than in any other Place during their whole March; and therefore I have judged it requisite to give a Place here to that Calculation. It was made by the principal Inhabitants of the Town in all its Parishes; and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the first Night and the second, so that the small Difference between those Calculations plainly shows how much they may be depended on, since it is impossible that any considerable Mistake should have happened therein, considering how near they approach each other.

<i>First Night.</i>	<i>Parishes.</i>	<i>Second Night</i>
1,590	- - - - St. Warburg's	- - - - 1,641.
2,979	- - - - All Saints	- - - - 3,027.
1,001	- - - - St. Peter's	- - - - 1,001.
724	- - - - St. Michael's	- - - - 724
714	- - - - St. Alcmund's	- - - - 755.
<hr/> 7,008.		<hr/> 7,148.

N. B. *Women and Boys excluded.*

It was during their Stay at *Derby* that the Rebels began first to shew that kind of Spirit, which appeared afterwards so plainly, and the Effects of which made such deep Impressions on the Minds of the People, as are not easily to be worn out. For having been informed during their Stay here, that a Subscription had been set on foot in that Town for the King's Service a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paying in, they found means to procure a Copy of this Subscription Roll, and when they were thought to have quitted the Place, sent back a Party to levy such Sums as were mentioned in that Roll under pain of Military Execution. They were very assiduous in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes and other Necessaries while at *Derby*; and it cannot be believed that such Customers would pay the full Value for all they had, so that the Difference between their Price and the just Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be considered as a second Contribution.

They

They also endeavoured to levy Men here, beat up publickly for that purpose, with little Success, since there were not above three who lifted in the Town, and those of the very lowest of the People in point of Morals as well as Condition. Which shows how low their Credit was brought, and might possibly be amongst the Reasons which all together determined them to delay their Retreat no longer.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, at the Head of the King's Forces, took all imaginable Pains to force the Rebels to a decisive Engagement; and when that was found impossible, to hinder their March into *North Wales*, or to alarm the Nation by continuing their Incursion, and advancing farther into the Heart of the Kingdom. In order to effect the former of these Purposes, his Royal Highness advanced to *Stone* upon the first Advice of the Rebels being at *Congleton*; but when it appeared that their true Design was to march to *Derby*, the King's Forces moved towards *Northampton* to intercept them in their Rout Southwards; and having been informed that the Rebels had possessed themselves of *Swarkston-Bridge*, his Royal Highness encamped on the 6th with the greatest part of the Forces on *Meriden Common*, between *Colehill* and *Coventry*.

In the mean time, his Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade* had marched the Army under his Command to *Wetherby*, where he encamped on the 5th; and the same Day Orders were given for the Horse and Dragoons to proceed to *Doncaster*, whither the Foot were to follow them. These Dispositions afforded sufficient Reason for the Rebels to retreat, since whoever considers them attentively, will find, that in the first Place, it would have been very difficult for them to have proceeded farther without meeting with and being obliged to fight the Duke's Army, which was what they never design'd; and on the other hand, if they had succeeded in their Scheme, and by some Means or other continued their March without coming to a Battle, it must have ended in their absolute Ruin, since a Delay of two or three Days would have rendered their Retreat Northwards altogether impossible.

Before we proceed farther, it is requisite to observe, that the second Son of the Pretender being arrived in *France*, there were about this Time vast Preparations made for the Invasion of this Kingdom; and though by the timely and prudent Precautions taken by the Lords of the Admiralty they were prevented, and more especially by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, who was intrusted with the Command in the Channel; yet they occasioned a great deal of Confusion, and proved in that Respect of some Service to the Rebels; but in another Sense, they were of Service to the Nation; since they not only kept alive, but heighten'd that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty, which had appeared from the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People gave at this Time such lively Testimonies, as were sufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majesty reigned in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Persons.

Yet in *North Britain* the Flame of Rebellion began again to spread itself, by the Assistance of the *French*; for Lord *John Drummond* having landed with about five hundred Men at *Aberdeen*, *Peterhead*, and *Montrose*, he was very soon joined by that Body which Lord *Lewis Gordon* had been raising in the North, as well as by other of the disaffected Clans, such as the *Mackenzies*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Farquharsons*, and the *Frasers*, to the Number of between two and three thousand Men; with which Forces he drew down towards *Perth*, about the Time the young Pretender was at *Derby*. The Earl of *London*, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service in the North, spared no Pains or Diligence in exciting the well-affected Clans to join him; and by the Reinforcements he received from the *Macleods*, the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, the *Sutherlands*, and the *Guns*, he was soon two thousand strong. At *Edinburgh* likewise, and at *Glasgow* they began to raise Men for the Service of the Government with great Chearfulness and Success; so that two good Regiments were compleated, besides several independent Corps; as will be seen more at large, when we speak of the Measures taken by the Government in *North-Britain* to suppress the Rebellion.

After the Rebels had executed their Purpose of raising Money on the Town of *De by*, they returned to their Resolution of endeavouring to retire into *Scotland* by the same Road they came; and accordingly marched on the 6th of *December*, 1745, to *Ashburn*, from whence they moved the next Day to *Leek*, destroying in their Passage whatever they judged might be of Use to the King's Forces that were in Pursuit of them, and shewing a warm Spirit of Resentment for the Disappointments they had met with, thereby provoking the Country People to do them all the Mischief they could. They carried with them a Train of Artillery, consisting of fifteen small Pieces of Cannon and one Mortar.

On the 8th in the Evening their Van-Guard reached *Manchester*, and the next Morning the young Chevalier and the Main of his Forces came thither, where they were not received as they had been before, but on the contrary, the Town's People, or at least the Mob, gave them some pretty visible Marks of their Dislike, which was instantly punished by an Order or Precept in the Name of the Chevalier, and signed and sealed by Mr. *Murray* his Secretary, directed to the Constables and Collector of the Land-Tax for the Towns of *Manchester* and *Salford*; requiring them to collect and levy by the next Day at Noon, the Sum of 2,500 Pounds, to be paid to the said Mr. *Murray*, with a Promise of Repayment, however, when the Country should be peaceably settled under his Government.

On the 10th they continued their March by *Pendleton Pole* towards *Leigh* and *Wiggan*, which last Place they reached on the 11th, and push'd on from thence to *Preston* the next Day; being extremely apprehensive of finding themselves surrounded in that Neighbourhood. On the 13th in the Morning they quitted *Preston*, and continued
their

their Rout to *Lancaster*; and on the 14th they moved from thence to *Kendal*, which they entered about ten in the Morning, and where they met with a bad Reception, for the Town's-People fired upon their Hussars, killed one, and took two Prisoners. Their Van-Guard continued their March from thence to *Shap* in their way to *Penrith*; but seeing the Beacons every where lighted, and being informed that it was done to raise the Country, and that the People were disposed to fall upon them on all Sides, they thought proper to return to *Kendal*, which they accordingly did about two in the Morning.

On the 15th the Pretender with all his Forces arrived there, and began to march from thence for *Penrith* on the 16th by break of Day; Lord *George Murray* commanding the Rear-Guard, as he had done during the whole March. They intended to have reached *Penrith* that Night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at *Shap*, where we shall leave them for the present, that we may better give the Reader an Account of the Motions of the King's Forces, in order to overtake them.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* having certain Intelligence on the 7th of *December*, that the *Highlanders* had begun to move Northward; put himself the next Morning at the Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, with 1000 Volunteers, in order to follow the Rebels from *Meriden*, and stop them till the Foot came up. On the 9th, Sir *John Ligonier* marched with the Brigade of Guards, and the Regiment of *Semple* to *Litchfield*, pursuant to his Royal Highness's Instructions.

On the 10th, the Duke arrived at *Macclesfield* with two Regiments of Dragoons, having a Body of 1000 Foot at no great Distance, from whence he sent Orders to *Manchester*, and other Parts of the Country, that nothing might be neglected that could contribute to retard or distress the Enemy. On the 11th, Major *Wheatly* was detached with an advance Party of Dragoons to harass the Rear of the Rebels, and to join the Light-armed Troops that were expected from the other Army; the Motions of which shall be next accounted for to this Time, after which the whole Pursuit was entirely under his Royal Highness's Direction.

His Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade* having received certain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Rebels, and of the Situation of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness held on the 8th of *December* a great Council of War at *Ferry-Bridge*, to consider of the most effectual Means for cutting off the *Highlanders* in their Retreat; and in this Council of War it was resolved to march directly by *Wakefield* and *Hallifax* into *Lancashire*, as the most likely Way of intercepting the Rebels. But arriving at *Wakefield* on the 10th, and having Advice that the main Body of the Rebels were at *Manchester*, and their Van-Guard moving from thence towards *Preston*, his Excellency finding that it was now impossible to come up with them, judged it unnecessary to fatigue the Forces by hard Marches;

Marches; and therefore detaching Major-General *Oglethorpe* on the 11th with the Cavalry under his Command, he began his March with the rest of his Forces for *Newcastle*.

On the 13th, a great Body of the Horse and Dragoons that were, as had been said, under Major-General *Oglethorpe*, arrived at *Preston*, having marched 100 Miles in three Days over Snow and Ice, which was a noble Testimony of Zeal and Spirit, especially in the newly-raised Forces. His Royal Highness arrived about One at the same Place, and immediately gave his Orders for continuing the Pursuit of the Rebels with the utmost Diligence. On the 14th, accordingly General *Oglethorpe* advanced towards *Lancaster*, which Place they reached on the 16th; General *Oglethorpe* continuing his Pursuit at the Heels of the Rebels. On the 17th the Major-General was at *Shap*, and his Royal Highness entered *Kendal*, having now more Hopes of coming up with the Enemy, than at any Time during the March; and the Dispositions made by the Duke for this Purpose, were such, as shewed not only the greatest Intrepidity, but also the utmost Penetration and military Capacity.

On *Wednesday* the 18th of *December* in the Evening, part of the Cavalry with his Royal Highness, came up with the Rebels after ten Hours March a little beyond *Louthers-Hall*, which they had quitted on the Approach of the King's Forces, and threw themselves into the Village of *Clifton*, about three Miles from *Penrith*; where they had great Advantages from the Situation of the Place, and from some decay'd broken Walls, which serv'd them instead of Retrenchments. His Royal Highness, however, caused the Village to be immediately attacked, by the first Forces that came up, which were the King's own Regiment of Dragoons, and part of the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, who behaved extremely well upon this Occasion; and in an Hour's Time drove them out of the Place, tho' a very strong and defensible Post.

The Loss of the Enemy could not be certainly known, because it was quite dark before the Affair was over. There were forty of the King's Forces kill'd and wounded, and amongst the latter four Officers, viz. Col. *Honeywood*, Capt. *East*, Cornet *Owen*, and Cornet *Hamilton*. On the Side of the Rebels, there was one Captain *Hamilton* taken Prisoner, who was much wounded. It was so dark, and the Country so covered, that it was impossible to pursue them with any Probability of Success that Night; and the next Morning about seventy of the Rebels were made Prisoners; nothing but the Quickness of their Retreat having saved the rest, and that too with great Difficulty.

While their Rear-Guard was engaged with the King's Forces at *Clifton*, the main Body of the Rebels were at *Penrith*, and so apprehensive of being overtaken, that at Ten o'Clock at Night they ordered their Artillery and Baggage to advance towards *Carlisle*; and on the 19th in the Morning they entered that City, excessively fatigued

tigued and in much Confusion. The Rebels did not continue long there, but contented themselves with putting a sort of Garrison into the Place, composed of between four and five hundred Men, most of them being those that had join'd them in *England*, and which they had formed into a Corps under the Title of the *Manchester Regiment*.

The main Body of their Army continued their March towards *Scotland*, passing the River *Eske*, tho' very high, which cost many of them their Lives: and on the 20th and 21st, they again entered *North-Britain*, leaving those they had thrown into *Carlisle* to shift for themselves as well as they could, and without any Hopes of Succour. These pretended at first that they would make an obstinate Defence; and having most of their Artillery with them, they mounted them on the Walls, took Possession of the Castle, and carried into it all the Provisions they could find, leaving the Inhabitants little or none to sustain them; so that they were in the utmost Distress, being able to draw no Relief from the adjacent Country, because the People were sensible that whatever they sent them, would be taken from them by the Rebels. They did not however continue long in this deplorable Condition, being relieved from it by the speedy Arrival of the King's Forces, who soon put an End to the Dispute, and restored the People of *Carlisle* to the King's Protection.

On the 20th of *December* his Royal Highness's Forces advanced to *Hesket*, which is eight Miles from *Carlisle*, where they were joined by *St. George's* Dragoons. On the twenty-first, about Four in the Morning, the whole Army marched in four Columns towards *Carlisle*, which was already invested, and in the Evening they arrived before that City, and took up their Quarters in the Villages round about it. Field Marshal *Wade* having Intelligence of what had passed at *Clifton*, detached a considerable Body of Foot to join the Duke's Army, and gave such other Orders as were requisite for hastening thither the Artillery and Ammunition that might be necessary for carrying on the Siege.

On the 26th, Part of the Cannon expected from *Whitehaven*, arrived, and the utmost Diligence being used, they began on the 28th to play with six eighteen Pounders upon the Place. In the Night of the 29th, they raised a new Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, that began to play in the Morning, upon which the Rebels hung out a white Flag, and offered to capitulate; but his Royal Highness would grant them no other Terms than these, *That they should not be put to the Sword, but reserved for his Majesty's Pleasure*: To which, about Three in the Afternoon on the 30th, one *John Hamilton*, who styled himself Governor of *Carlisle*, agreed, and Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Possession of the Town with a Detachment of four hundred Guards, seven hundred Foot, and one hundred and twenty Horse.

The Rebel Officers yielded themselves Prisoners immediately, and their Men retired into the Cathedral without Arms, where they had a Guard set over them, till his Royal Highness could otherwise dispose

pose of them. Such was the Issue of this wild Undertaking, and so soon were those, who pretended to defend the Place to the last Extremity, reduced to surrender it and themselves Prisoners at Discretion.

A List of the Rebel Officers, &c. taken at Carlisle.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Scotch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Artillery.</i>
Colonel 1	Governor 1	Officers 3	Brass 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pounders
Captains 5	Surgeon 1	Serjeant 1	with Carriages 6
Lieutenants 5	Captains 6	Private Men 4	Brass Octagon
Ensigns 7	Lieutenants 7	---	with Carriage 1
Adjutant 1	Ensigns 3	8	Brass 4 Pounders
Non-Com. Of- ficers, private	Non-Com. Of- ficers, private	----	with Carriages 3
Men, &c. 93	Men, &c. 256	112	Brass Cohorns 4
----	----	274	Royals 2
----	----	----	----
112	274	In all 394	16

While the Rebels were doing the Business of the *French* in the North, vast Preparations were still made on the Coasts of *France* and *French Flanders*, for invading this Kingdom; and the Informations which the Government received of their Embarkations, particularly at *Dunkirk*, induced his Majesty to give such Directions as were necessary for appointing proper Alarm-Posts, at which the Troops were to assemble, and such Signals as were requisite for assembling them; and at the same Time a Proclamation was issued, commanding all Officers, Civil and Military, to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first Approach of the Enemy to direct all Horses, Oxen, Cattle and other Provisions, to be driven and removed twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy should attempt to land; and such Regiments of regular Troops as were at this Time quartered in and about *London*, were ordered down to the Coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*.

These wise and timely Precautions, joined to the Zeal and Spirit shewn by the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Maritime Counties, had so good an Effect, together with the Diligence used by the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, that served on board the Squadron then in the Channel, that the Designs of the *French* were totally defeated, notwithstanding they frequently changed their Schemes, which served only to fatigue their Troops excessively, and to distress their Subjects to the last Degree, by ruining the little Trade still left in that Kingdom.

As Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the rest of the Rebel Chiefs in *Scotland*, were all at this Time labouring with great Diligence, as well as much Violence, to draw together a considerable Force in order to join the Pretender on his Return into that Country; the King's loyal Subjects there shewed the greatest Zeal and Spirit, in exerting their utmost Endeavours to raise Troops to oppose them. The City of *Glasgow* particularly distinguished itself upon this Occasion, by levying fifteen Companies of sixty Men each, at their

own Expence; and having compleated them by the Beginning of the Month of *December*, they marched from thence under the Command of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hume*, for *Stirling*.

The City of *Edinburgh* also having received his Majesty's Licence for that Purpose, raised a Thousand Men for the King's Service; and the Earl of *Loudon*, with the Forces under his Command, marching from *Inverness*, obliged a Body of the Rebels to raise the Blockade of *Fort Augustus*; which they had formed under the Command of the Son of Lord *Lovat*; and at the same Time the *Macleods* and *Monroes* scoured all the North of the Rebel Parties, as far as to within twelve Miles of *Aberdeen*. Such were the Transactions in *South* and in *North Britain* to the Close of the last Year, when the Rebels having been obliged to fly out of *England*, began again to gather Strength in the West of *Scotland*, and to resume their Design of attacking *Stirling Castle*, though without Effect.

The Rebels having passed the River *Eske*, divided into two Bodies, the lesser, consisting of about two thousand Men, marched on the 20th of *December* to *Ecclefechan*, and from thence the next Day to *Moffat*. The larger Body, of about four thousand, proceeded to *Annan*, near the Sea-side, and on the 21st marched to *Dumfries*; where they continued all the next Day, and about eight in the Morning on the 23d they moved Northwards.

At *Dumfries* they demanded two thousand Pounds immediately; and though this was remonstrated against, as a Thing not only hard, but impracticable, yet it was peremptorily insisted on, and at last eleven hundred was accepted in ready Money; and two Gentlemen were taken away as Hostages for the other nine hundred. On the 23d they halted at *Drumlanerig*, and thence continued their March to *Glasgow*, at which City they arrived on the 25th.

In the mean Time, the Northern Rebels were moving towards *Perth* under Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*, and some other of their Chiefs; so that now it appeared plainly their Design was to collect all their Strength upon the *Forth*, in order to besiege *Stirling Castle*. This Body of the Rebels had some Artillery, Ammunition, and Money with them, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish Privateers*, and brought from the West Coast to *Perth*, which they fortified for a Place of Arms; fitting out an armed Sloop there, as they did the *Hazard* which they had lately taken, and another stout Privateer at *Montrose*.

We left the main Body of the Rebels at *Glasgow*, and to the Sorrow of the Inhabitants of that City, they continued there several Days.

We must naturally imagine the Condition of these People remarkably unhappy, as having their Enemy within the Walls, and many Circumstances attending their Situation, capable of filling them with very uneasy Apprehensions. For in the first Place, this City had been always considered as the head Quarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of

Charles and *James II.* and had been thereby exposed to very indifferent Treatment: In the next, it has been always since the Revolution, and more especially since the Union, the best-affected Place in *North Britain* to our Establishment, and so reputed: Lastly, even since the breaking-out of the present Rebellion, they had not only shewn the greatest Loyalty to the Government, had not only raised a Regiment for its Service, but had also marched that Regiment to *Edinburgh*, (and thereby left themselves defenceless) for fear the Rebels might force them to disband it.

Such was the State of this Place at this critical Juncture, when the young Pretender entered it at the Head of all his Forces, and had thereby the Inhabitants at his Mercy. But how sensible soever they might be of their Danger, they did nothing contrary to their Duty to deliver themselves; on the contrary, they shewed very visible Signs of Sorrow and Sadness; and the Chevalier, though he often appeared in Publick, was scarce attended so much as by a Mob.

It is not at all surprizing, that the Behaviour of the Rebels at *Glasgow* should, all these Provocations considered, be rather worse than in other Places, and so it was. They found themselves in a very rich City, abounding in whatever they wanted, and therefore they considered it as a Magazine, and began to furnish themselves immediately with Broad-cloth, Tartan, Linen, Shoes and Stockings, to the Amount of ten thousand Pounds Sterling; so that by this Means the Pretender in a manner new clothed his Army, which proved a great Means of keeping them together, otherwise, in all Probability, the greater Part of them would have dispersed.

On the Third of *January*, having finished their Business at *Glasgow*, and gleaned up what they could, it was judged high Time to remove, and accordingly they marched that Day to *Kilsyth*. The next they proceeded to *Bannockburne*, and on the Fifth, having now the best Part of their Forces together, they summoned the Castle and Town of *Stirling* to surrender. General *Blakeney* answered, that he would defend the Place to the last Extremity, and as he had lived he was determined to die a Man of Honour. The Town, which is indeed of no great Strength, after some Time spent in Treaty, surrendered, and the Rebels entered it upon the Eighth, when having again summoned the Castle, to as little Purpose as before, they took a final Resolution of besieging it in Form with what Artillery they had, and accordingly prepared to put that Resolution in Execution.

His Majesty having thought fit to appoint Lieutenant-General *Hawley* Commander in Chief of his Forces in *North-Britain*, and Major-General *Huske* to command under him, the Troops that were to form the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, marched thither with so much Expedition, that whatever was requisite for their Use, or could contribute to facilitate their Motions, was so readily supplied to them on their Rout, that by the Tenth it was judged expedient

dient to dispose things for advancing towards the Relief of *Stirling* Castle; not that this Fortrefs, which from its Situation is of some Importance, was in any Danger, for in Truth, the Rebels were but bungling Engineers, but because it would have given some Reputation to their Arms, in case they had continued this Siege for any Time without Interruption.

Things being thus disposed, the Field-Artillery ordered out, and all the necessary Preparations taken, it was resolved to begin the Operations by detaching Part of the Forces under Major General *Huske*, to dislodge the Earl of *Kilmarnock* from *Falkirk*, where he lay with most of the Cavalry belonging to the Rebel Army. On the Thirteenth accordingly, the Forces appointed for this Service began to move towards *Linlithgow*, which they entered in the Evening, at the very Instant the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was marching in on the Side next *Falkirk* with some of his People; but having early Intelligence of the General's Purpose and Nearness, he retired with some Precipitation.

One may very reasonably doubt, whether if the Rebels had not been interrupted, they would have been able to have prosecuted their Siege of *Stirling* Castle with any Effect; though it must be owned they spared no Labour in getting thither their Artillery, though harraffed all the time by the *Vulture* Sloop, and by small Craft filled with Soldiers, which did them considerable Damage; neither, when it was brought thither, could they do much, their Batteries being injudiciously erected, the *Highlanders* shewing a great Aversion to that kind of Service, for which they are naturally unfit, and the Garrison doing them a great deal of Mischief, tho' they were able to do little or none to the Garrison, having scarce advanced their Siege at all while they staid before the Place.

But whether they might or might not have succeeded, it seems reasonable to enquire, what Advantages they proposed to themselves by becoming Masters of this Place: And these (tho' they were many) might very naturally be reduced to these three. First, it would have given them Reputation at Home and Abroad, as *Stirling* Castle is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is. Secondly, if they could have got this Place, and fortified *Perth* tolerably, they would have secured the Country behind them for the Winter; and Thirdly, it would have afforded the Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts on both Sides of the Island, which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from Abroad:

After General *Huske* had taken Post at *Linlithgow*, Lord *Kilmarnock* thought proper to decamp the next Day from *Falkirk*, and to retire to the main Body of the Rebel Army before *Stirling*. On the Sixteenth, General *Huske*, with the Forces under his Command, and the Remains of *Gardner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, took Possession of *Falkirk*, and were followed thither soon after by General *Hawley*, and the rest of the Army. All that Day the Rebels were in continual Motion, but so that no sort of Judgment could be formed of their In-

tenion; some reporting they were entrencing themselves in *Torwood*, others, that they seemed inclined to raise the Siege of *Stirling*, and many affirming they meant to advance and meet the King's Troops.

At this Distance it is easy to say, Care should have been taken to obtain better Intelligence; but let us remember, that if an Enemy is really irresolute (as was the Case) no certain Intelligence can be obtained. Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, however, having considered the Situation of Affairs, and the several Accounts he had received, resolved to defer attacking the Rebels till the next Day, as well in regard to the Foulness of the Weather, as because he was desirous of obtaining such Intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous Dispositions for acting against them with his Cavalry and Artillery.

Some Dragoons that had been sent to reconnoitre, returned about Noon with Intelligence, that the Rebels were actually in Motion, in order to attack the King's Forces, and by One they were seen in two Columns, about two Miles Distance, endeavouring to gain some rising Grounds near the Moor of *Faltirk*. Upon this the King's Forces got under Arms, and formed as soon as the small Time they had would allow, and immediately marched to gain the Ground which the Rebels were endeavouring to reach on the Left of their Camp. This, though the Ground was above a Mile distant, they performed, but were scarce in Possession of it, before the Enemy came down in Order of Battle, out-stretching the King's Forces in such a Manner, that the Left of one Army was opposite the Center of the other.

The King's Army being once formed, advanced in good Order, the Dragoons on the Left, and the Foot in two Lines. As soon as they came within a hundred Yards of the Enemy, the Dragoons were ordered to fall on Sword in Hand, and the two Lines of Infantry to advance. They began to move in Pursuance to these Directions, but before they could put them in Execution, the Rebels made a very smart Fire, which threw the Dragoons into some Disorder, and they the Foot, who made only one irregular Fire, *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* Battalions only excepted, who were presently rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondeley*, attacked afterwards by the Rebels, whom they repulsed, and at length drove them fairly out of the Field.

In the mean time Major-General *Huske*, with wonderful Prudence and Presence of Mind, drew together and formed a Body of Foot in the Rear of these two Regiments, which the Rebels seeing, did not venture to renew the Attack. General *Mordaunt* taking Advantage of this Delay, rallied and formed the rest of the Troops, in which the Officers, who in general behaved well, assisted, which prevented their prosecuting their first Advantage.

There were several unforeseen and indeed inevitable Accidents that contributed greatly to, or rather might be said to have been the sole Occasion of the Rebels gaining this Advantage. In the first Place, there was some Difficulty and Confusion in forming the King's Troops, which was succeeded by another unlucky Accident; some
of

of the Battalions fired without Orders, which occasioned a great Confusion among the Dragoons. But the great Misfortune of all was, that just as the Army began to move, there came on a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, which hindered the Men from seeing before them; and many of their Firelocks were so wet, that it is thought scarce a fifth Part of them were of Use; add to this, that they had not the Benefit of their Artillery, for the Weather having been two Days very wet, and there being a steep Hill to climb, they could not get up Time enough to do any Service in the Action; and the Commander of the Train having quitted it, most of the People who belong'd to the Horses rode away with them; so that when the Troops retired to their Camp, they found it extremely hard to carry off their Cannon.

An EXPLANATION of the opposite PLAN.

A Three Brigades, King's Foot encamped. B Dragoons encamped. C Artillery Park. D Argyllshire Highlanders cantoned at the advanced Post. N. B. Price's Foot and Cobham's Dragoons cantoned at Falkirk, Glasgow Militia cantoned at Calladar House. E Torwood Hill where the Rebels appeared about Elewen. F Hollow Ground by which the Rebels concealed their March to the Right. G Hill near Dunipace where the Rebels appeared about One at a Mile and Half Distance. H March of the King's Troops by the Road. I Dragoons first formed. K Foot first formed. L Dragoons as they engaged. M Foot as formed when the Dragoons engaged. N Glasgow Regiment. O Rebels as they moved up the Hill and engaged on the highest Ground. P Rebel Horse where the Pretender's Son was. Q Party of Rebels moving towards our Baggage. R Argyllshire Men and Lord Loudon's drawn up to oppose that Party. S Barrell's and Ligonier's.

In this Battle were, Lieut. Gen. Hawley, Commander, Major Gen. Huske, Brig. Gen. Mordaunt, Brig. Gen. Cholmondeley, Brig. Gen. Lord Sempill.

Royal Army 14 Battalions 9 Squadrons	First Line	5614	}	13221
	Second Line	6610		
	Third Line	997		
	E. Hume	1000		
	Lieut. Col. Campbell	* 1324		

15545 Total

* One Company of Lord J. Murray's Regiment are included with the Argyllshire. * Three Companies of Lord Loudon's Highlanders under Lieut. Col. Cambell.

Rebel Army 17 Battalions, 3 Squadrons.	First Line	3700	}	8450 Total.
	Second Line	4300		
	Third Line	450		

T Order of Battle for Feb. 1, 1745-6 had the Rebels stood: his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, General and Commander in Chief.

DUKE's Army 15 Battalions 6 Squadrons	First Line	5958	}	14622
	Second Line	5800		
	Third Line	2864		
	Lieut. Col. Campbell, &c.	1324		

15946 Total

there

This very Difficulty, however, very plainly proves that they were left-Masters of the Field, for the Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment brought off one Piece of Cannon, and the Horses that were picked up at the Town of *Falkirk*, drew away three more, which shews they had Time enough, and were not at all molested by the Rebels; so far from it, that it was once resolved to remain in the Camp, and Brigadier *Mordaunt* had Orders to take Post there; but the Rain was so heavy, the Tents so excessively wet, and so much of the Ammunition spoiled, that it was judged altogether inexpedient to expose the Men to the Inclemency of the Weather, and therefore it was at last determined to march them back to *Linlithgow*, purely to put them under Cover.

The Rebels returned to *Stirling* on the 18th in the Afternoon; and as it was visible that Lieutenant General *Hawley's* Design of relieving that Fortrefs was disappointed, they had a mind to try what Effect another Summons would have; but General *Blakeney* was still in the same Tone, and contented himself with repeating what he had before told them, and that he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, and they should find he would die so. Upon this they began to erect two new Batteries, one upon *Gawan Hill*, within forty Yards of the Castle, and one upon *Lady's-Hill*, upon which they proposed to mount what battering Cannon they had, which were but seven Pieces, viz. two eighteen Pounders, two sixteen Pounders, and three twelve Pounders; and while this was doing, they continued to fire upon the Castle with small Arms, which did little or no Mischief, tho' at the same time it exposed their Men extremely, and they suffered by the Fire of the Castle very severely, which put them more and more out of Humour with the Siege; and what contributed to increase their Uneasiness was the great Want of Provisions, which obliged them to send out Parties on all Sides, to carry off what Meal they could find in any part of the Country.

The greatest Part of their Army being returned into the Neighbourhood of *Falkirk*, they sent away their Prisoners to *Down-Castle* on the 25th except the Officers; and the *Hazard* Sloop, which was now refitted, was ordered to sail to *France* to carry the News of this Advantage, which they magnified extremely, as appeared by the Accounts that were printed of it at *Paris*. Here we shall leave the Rebels engaged in a Siege in which they made no Progress, disappointed of the Succours they expected, and very much perplexed to find Ways and Means for subsisting their Troops, which created great Murmurings and Heart-burnings among them, in order to follow the King's Troops.

On the Return of the King's Army to *Edinburgh*, a very strict Enquiry was made into the Loss sustained by the late Action, which appeared to be, Officers excepted, very small. What was most regretted was the Death of Sir *Robert Monroë*, Bart. Colonel of a Regiment

giment of Foot, who died of his Wounds in the Hands of the Rebels; and his Brother Dr. *Monroe*, an eminent Man in his Profession, and who attended him to the Field, merely out of fraternal Affection.

There was no Account of the Killed and Wounded published by Authority, probably because it was found difficult to collect such an Account, as many of the Soldiers who were supposed either to have been slain or taken Prisoners came dropping in afterwards for several Days. The Officers, in general, distinguished themselves extremely, and some very particularly, such as Brigadier General *Cholmondeley*, who was dangerously wounded, and contracted a Palsy, from the Cold he caught in the Field.

Major General *Huske*, by his great Vigilance and Presence of Mind shewn on this Occasion, acquir'd the highest Reputation; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was allow'd to have done all that could be expected from the most knowing and active Officer; nay, even in the Battalions where the Men did not behave so well as might have been expected, their Officers shew'd themselves to great Advantage, and gave glorious Examples of Intrepidity, tho' they were but ill copied. This made the Loss fall heavier among them, in proportion, than has been usual on the like Occasions; and by Comparison of private Letters the following List was drawn, and has been look'd upon as pretty exact.

A LIST of the OFFICERS kill'd, wounded, and taken Prisoners at the Battle of FALKIRK, January 17, 1745-6.

LIGONIER's Dragoons.	WOLFE's Foot.
Lieut. Col. <i>Whitney</i> .	Captains <i>Dalton</i> ,
Cornets <i>Monk</i> ,	<i>Garing</i> ,
<i>Crow</i> .	<i>Hamilton</i> ,
BLAKENEY's Foot.	<i>Landers</i> ,
Captains <i>Todd</i> ,	<i>Hale</i> .
<i>Kellet</i> ,	Lieut. <i>Kirkson</i> .
<i>Dalrymple</i> ,	
<i>Edmonson</i> .	HOWARD's Foot.
Lieut. <i>Fairfield</i> .	Captains <i>Osrepo</i> ,
MONROE's Foot.	<i>Hacker</i> .
Col. Sir <i>Robert Monroe</i> .	CHOLMONDELEY's Foot.
Lieut. Col. <i>Biggar</i> .	Lieut. Col. <i>Powell</i> .
Captains <i>Hall</i> ,	
<i>Fitzgerald</i> ,	HAMILTON's Dragoons.
<i>Witherall</i> .	Cornet <i>Smith</i> .
Mr. <i>Monroe</i> , Sir R's Brother.	

It happened very luckily, that as this Action proved fatal to so many Officers, it proved as fortunate to a great many others; for the Rebels having sent most of the Officers that were taken Prisoners at *Preston-Pans* to *Glamis*, *Coupar* and *Leslie*, when they were drawing together their Forces about *Stirling*, the loyal Inhabitants of *Dundee*,

dee, and other Places, formed a Design of rescuing them; and conducting them back to *Edinburgh*, which they executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and they arrived at that City on the nineteenth, the very next Day after the Army returned thither from *Linlithgow*.

This releasing of these Officers at this Juncture was a very seasonable Service, as it visibly preserved them from being hurried by the Rebels into the North, as would undoubtedly have been the Case, if they had remained Prisoners but a very few Days longer. It was likewise a full Proof of the steady Loyalty and sincere Attachment to the Government, of those who undertook to rescue them; since they did it at a Time when the Rebels were flushed with their late Advantage, and might be probably supposed capable of taking a very severe Revenge on such as were concerned in it, if discovered, and in their Power; but the Consequence of the Thing will best appear by giving the Reader an Account of the Persons that were thus set at Liberty.

LIST of the OFFICERS retaken from the Rebels by the
Militia of the Shire of Angus.

Col. COCHRAN's Reg. of Marines. Captains *Collier,*

Lieut. *Col. Whitesford.* *Barlo,*

Gen. GUISE's Regiment. *Ander son,*

Lieut. *Patton.* *Corbett,*

Ensign *Wakeman.* *Forrester.*

Col. LEE's Regiment. Lieut. *Swiney,*

Capt. Lieut. *Kennedy.* Ensigns *Cox,*

Ensign *Archer.* *Goulton.*

Col. T. MURRAY's Regiment. *Lord LOUDON's Regiment.*

Major *Talbot.* Capt. *Monroe.*

Captain *Leslie.* Capt. Lieut. *Macnabb.*

Lieut. *Wall,* Lieut. *Read.*

Rae. Ensigns *Grant,*

Ensigns *Sutherland,* *M'lagen,*

Lise, *M'ray,*

Berne. *Campbell.*

Col. LASCELLES's Regiment. *LIGONIER's Regiment,*

Major *Savern.* Quarter-Masters *Wist,*

Young.

When the News of this Battle reached *London*, it made it necessary to provide for the immediate Extinction of so dangerous a Flame, by sending down a sufficient Number of Forces, not only to render the Army in *Scotland* more formidable than before, but to encrease its Strength to such a Degree, as to free the Nation from any Apprehensions of its Consequences, in case the Enemy should grow more numerous, or the *French* and *Spaniards* persist in their Design of attempting an Invasion for their Support in any Part of his Majesty's Dominions. It was with this View, that a Resolution was taken

taken of embarking the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, for *Scotland*; and it was also thought convenient, that to restore the Spirit of the Soldiers, to extinguish all Animosities, and encourage the Well-affected in *North-Britain*, His Royal Highness the Duke should immediately go down thither.

It is true, the embarking the *Hessians* at that Juncture, was in some Respects inconvenient, as the *French* had just discovered their Design of attacking *Brussels*; but the Necessity of restoring our internal Tranquility, was confess'd, both at Home and Abroad, of such high Importance to the Common Cause, as well as of so great Consequence to ourselves, that this Step was generally approved, as the Consequences which have attended it shew that it was undertaken upon right Motives. I might here mention some other Methods that were made use of to frustrate the Designs of our Enemies; but as it is necessary for me to keep within due Bounds, I shall wave them for the present, in order to return again into *North-Britain*, and resume the Progress of our Army, after the necessary Preparations were made for taking the Field again, and marching a second Time to the Relief of the gallant Gen. *Blakeney*, who still defended *Stirling Castle* with so much Constancy and Courage, as had made the *Scots* Rebels sick of this Siege, that their Commanders found it necessary to entrust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who by this Means were excessively weakened and fatigued.

The Troops seem'd to be extremely mortified at this Misfortune, and shew'd an earnest Desire to repair it by marching again to attack the Rebels, for which the necessary Preparations were instantly made, and the Army in a very few Days, was in every respect in a better Condition, and better provided than before. On the thirtieth in the Morning, to the great Surprize and Joy of the Army, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey amazingly expeditious considering the Rigour of the Season.

He was receiv'd with all the Testimonies of Loyalty and Affection that could possibly be express'd, the Army looking upon his Presence as a sure Omen of Victory, and all Ranks and Degrees of People being delighted at beholding a Prince with whose Reputation they were so well acquainted, and from whom they had just Reason to expect being restor'd to the peaceable Possession of those Blessings which, under the mild Government of the King his Father, they had, till the breaking out of this Rebellion, constantly enjoyed. The Sight of the Duke banish'd all Remembrance of the late untoward Accident, and the Troops shew'd uncommon Ardour to be led, bad as the Weather was, into the Field again.

His Royal Highness review'd the Forces the very next Day, and marched them in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions, the *Argyleshire* Men, together with *Cabham's* and *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, in pursuit of the Rebels. He quarter'd that Night a *Linlith-*

gou with eight Battalions; Brigadier *Mordaunt*, with six Battalions more, was at *Burrowstonefs*; the Dragoons lay in the adjacent Villages, and Colonel *Campbell*, with the *Argylshire* Men, took post in the Front of the Army towards the *Avon*. There was, at that time, a considerable Body of the Rebels at *Falkirk*, who immediately retired towards *Torwood*, where it was given out they were to be join'd by the rest of their Forces from *Stirling*, though it was afterwards known there never was any such Intention. The next Morning his Royal Highness made the necessary Dispositions for prosecuting his March, at which time all the Officers and Soldiers expressed the greatst Eagerness and Alacrity imaginable.

The March was hardly begun before Advice was brought that the Rebels, instead of preparing for an Engagement, were actually repassing the *Forth* with all the Diligence imaginable; and what gave Credit to this, was their advanc'd Guards retiring every where with the utmost Precipitation. This News was soon after put out of dispute by the Noise they heard of two great Reports like the blowing up of Magazines, upon which Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd with the *Argylshire* Men and Dragoons to harrafs the Rebels in their Retreat. The Brigadier, with the Troops under his Command, arrived at *Stirling* late that Evening, where they found the Rebels had abandoned their Camp, with all their Artillery, and had blown up a great Magazine they had of Powder and Ball in the Church of *St. Ninian*; and that with so little Care or Discretion, that several of the Country People were buried in the Ruins. They likewise left behind them all the wounded Men they had made Prisoners in the late Action, and about 20 of their own sick Men; but it was so late when the King's Forces arrived, that it was judg'd needless to continue the Pursuit.

On the second of *February*, about one in the Afternoon, his Royal Highness enter'd *Stirling*, and receiv'd the Compliments of General *Blakeney*, and the Officers of his Garrison on that memorable Occasion; and at the same time, his Royal Highness was pleased to testify his entire Satisfaction with respect to the gallant Defence the General had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserved, and the Designs of the Enemy defeated. In the mean time, the Rebels were occupied in making all the Dispatch in their Power, that they might be entirely out of Reach before *Stirling* Bridge could be repaired for the Passage of the Army.

Part of them took the Road by *Tay bridge*, towards the Hills; the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, the remains of the *French*, those commanded by Lord *Ogilvie*, and the few Horse they had, got into *Perth* the very Night that Brigadier *Mordaunt* arrived at *Stirling*; and tho' they had taken a great deal of Pains in throwing up several Works for the Security of that Place, yet they began to abandon it, and to continue their March northwards the next Morning. Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* that came from *France*, made the best of their Way towards *Mentrose*,
and

and on the third of *February* the Town of *Perth* was totally evacuated. They left behind them there 13 Pieces of Iron Cannon, 8 and 12 Pounders, nailed up, and threw a vast Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with 14 Swivel Guns that had been taken out of the *Hazard Sloop*; and set at liberty the Sailors that had been confined there from the time that Vessel was taken, but they thought fit to carry Captain *Hill*, who commanded her, along with them, and some few other Prisoners of the better Sort.

It is evident that this Retreat of theirs was made with the utmost Hurry and Precipitation, and yet it was barely made in Time; for on the 4th, by six in the Morning, the Bridge of *Stirling* was repaired, so that the Army passed over it, and the advanced Guard, consisting of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders and the Dragoons, marched that Night as far as *Grief*, but the Foot were canton'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening, and the next Day the advanced Guards took Possession of *Perth*. We may without danger of incurring the Suspicion of Adulation, observe, that scarce any History can shew a more illustrious Instance of the Effects of a General's Reputation than this before us, since in the Space of a single Week, his Royal Highness quitted the Court of the King his Father, put himself at the Head of the Forces in *Scotland*, and saw the Enemy flying with Precipitation before him. To endeavour to heighten this Event by any Strains of Compliment or Panegyric, would be to obscure it, the bare Recital of the Matter of Fact is the noblest Eulogium; and the only thing that can be added is this, that as surprizing and incredible as it may seem to Posterity, it must be at present allowed a Truth notorious to the whole *British* Nation.

The Rebels were very sensible, how much the News of this Retreat of theirs, which had so much Resemblance to a Flight, would alarm their Friends both at Home and Abroad; and therefore they dispersed several Papers to assign such Reasons for it as they judged might give it a fair Appearance, alledging, that their Men were so loaded with Booty, that they were constrained to let them carry it Home; that after so fatiguing a Campaign some Recess was necessary; and that when they had refreshed and recruited their Forces, they would not fail to make a fresh Irruption into the *Lowlands* in the Spring. But whatever Reasons they might pretend, the true Motives of their Conduct were these: They judged, that by drawing the War into the *Highlands*, they should make it extremely burthen some, and uneasy to the King's Forces, obtain frequent Opportunities of harassing and surprizing them, and have a fair Chance for rendering them weary of following them through Countries, where they thought it impossible for them to have Magazines, and other Requisites for an Army of their Force. In the next Place they persuaded themselves, that the removing the War into the *Highlands*, and the Report they spread of the Severities that would be inflicted by the King's Troops,

must keep their Men together, which they now found a very difficult Task; and would also contribute to increase their Strength. They had besides these another Reason, which was, the giving a fair Opportunity to their Friends the *French*, of attempting an Invasion in the South; which they flattered themselves would afford such a Diversion as would free them from all their Difficulties. And to all this might be added, that they had formed a Project of making themselves Masters of the Chain or Line of Fortifications, that run along the North of *Scotland* from Fort *William* to *Inverness*; and thereby secure the Country behind them, and at the same Time afford Means for the *French* and *Spaniards* to send them Reinforcements and Supplies, of which they had hitherto had large Promises, though but slight and ineffectual Performances.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, who penetrated all their Views, took the most proper Methods that could be contrived for the defeating them. He gave Orders for the Army to March by different Roads (but in such Bodies as prevented all Danger of Surprise) to *Aberdeen*, where he proposed to fix his head Quarters, to raise Magazines, and to receive such Succours and Supplies as from Time to Time might be requisite by Sea from the South. As the *Hessian* Troops were now in *Scotland*, his Royal Highness took Care to dispose of them and some other Bodies of *English* Troops at *Perth*, *Dunkeld*, the Castle of *Blair*, Castle of *Menzies*, and other Places, by which he effectually secured the Passage into the *Lowlands*, and put it out of the Power of the Rebels to return that Way into the South. General *Campbell* with the *Argyleshire* Men, undertook the Security of Fort *William*, a Place at that Time of infinite Importance, as it secured another Passage through the West of *Scotland*, by which the Rebels might again have made their Way into *England*. These Precautions taken, his Royal Highness set out in Person for *Aberdeen*, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth of *February*.

The necessary Dispositions having been made for continuing the Operations of the War, it was judged expedient to make some Examples of such as had misbehaved, for the better Support of Discipline, at a Time when it was so necessary for the Security and Reputation of the Army; a Court-Martial was accordingly held at *Montrose*, by which an Officer in the Artillery, who had deserted the Train in the Action at *Falkirk*, was condemned to have his Sword broke over his Head by the Provost, his Sash thrown on the Ground, and himself turned out of the Army; which was executed accordingly at the Head of the Artillery. A Lieutenant of *Fleming's* Regiment was broke for disobeying Orders, forfeiting his Word, and prevaricating before the Court-Martial, in relation to plundering the House of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, at that Time with the Rebels: so little Colour there was for the Reports spread that Plundering was connived at, if not allowed; though nothing could be more incompatible with the Discipline of a regular

regular army, as well as the Constitution of the Country that Army was employed to defend.

The Rebels, in Prosecution of their Designs, made it their first Care to become Masters of *Inverness*, a Town of pretty considerable Trade on the East Side of the *Highlands*, with a good Port, and a small Fortrefs, sometimes called the Castle of *Inverness*, but more properly *Fort George*, to defend it. The Earl of *Loudon* was then there with a Body of about 1500 Men, most of them hastily raised for the Service of the Government, with whom, upon the Approach of the Rebels to within a very small Distance of the Place, he marched out in order to act offensively; but finding that impracticable, and that the Enemy were much stronger than he expected, he judged it proper to retreat, which he did on the 20th of *February*, without the Loss of a Man, leaving two independent Companies under the Command of Major *Grant*, in *Fort George*, with Orders to defend it to the last Extremity. But it seems these Orders were but indifferently obeyed; for the Place was soon after surrendered to the Rebels, upon which the Chevalier removed his Quarters thither, having with him about 4000 Men. This Success, and the News of surprizing some parties of well-affected *Highlanders* not far from the Castle of *Blair*, raised their Spirits a little, notwithstanding the Badness of their Quarters, want of Pay, Scarcity of Provisions, and other Inconveniences.

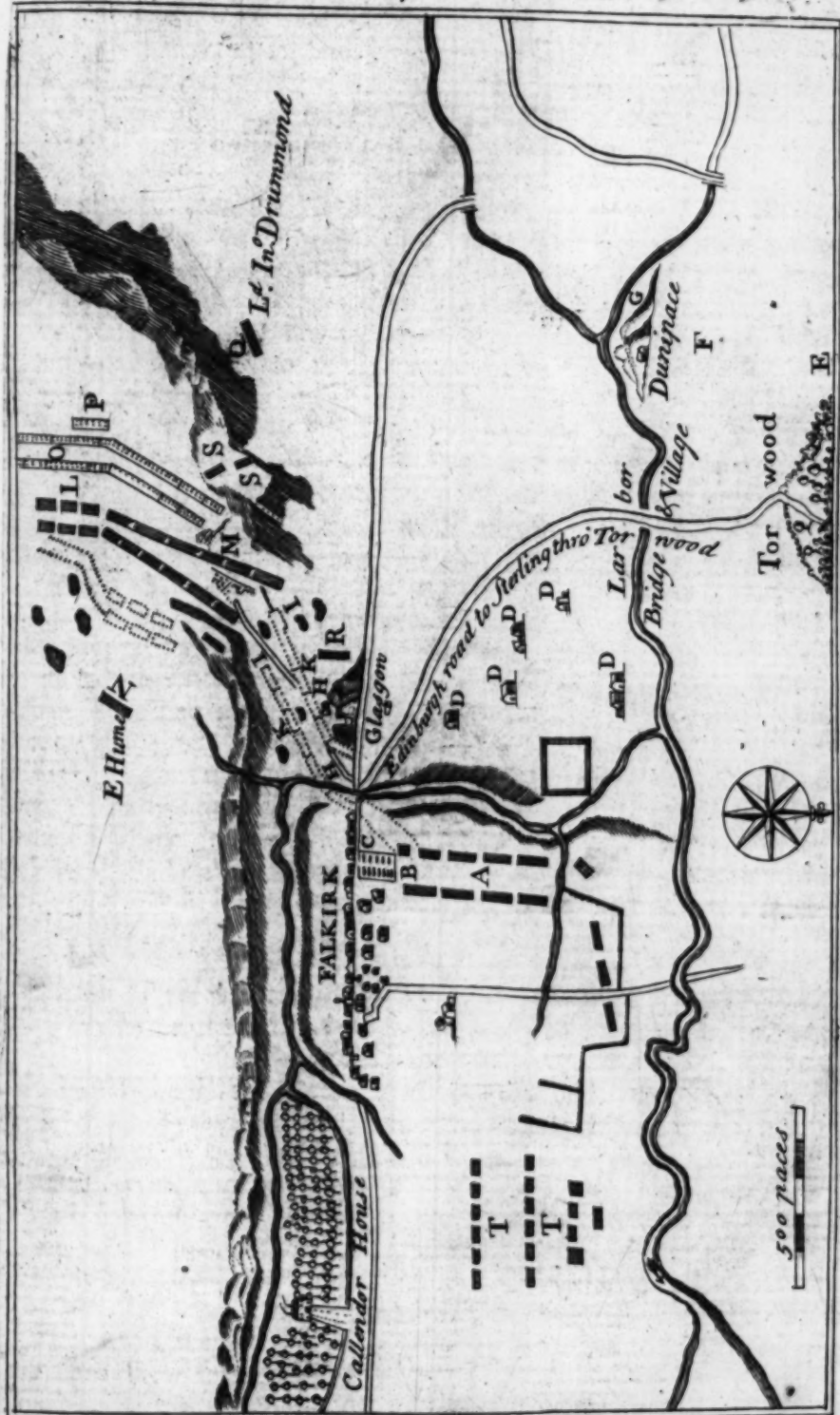
As a Proof of this, we may consider their Resolution to prosecute their original Design of reducing the Chain; and accordingly they next attacked *Fort Augustus*, a very small Place, and only important by its Situation between *Inverness* and *Fort William*, in which there was a very small Garrison, of no more than three Companies of *Guisse's* Regiment, under the Command of Major *Wentworth*; so that it was speedily reduced, and as speedily demolished, which was the same Fate that *Fort George* had met with: a clear Demonstration that they did not think it necessary to have any Garrison in that Part of the Country. But as they were still incommoded by the Neighbourhood of the Earl of *Loudon*, who lay at their Back with only the Frith of *Murray* between them; the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Cromarty*, and some of the rest of their Chief Commanders resolved to attempt the surprizing that Earl by the Help of Boats, which they drew together on their Side of the Water; and taking the Advantage of a Fog, executed their Scheme so effectually, that falling upon the King's Forces under the Earl's Command unexpectedly, they cut off some, made a few Officers Prisoners, and obliged Lord *Loudon* to retire with the rest out of *Sutherland*. But though these little Advantages served to make a Noise, and to keep up the Spirits of their Party, yet they did them little real Service; and their Money beginning to run short, and Supplies both at Home and Abroad failing their Expectations, caused great Divisions and Heart-burnings amongst them.

It

It is now Time for us to shew what his Royal Highness the Duke was doing at *Aberdeen*; where, though the Rigour of the Season, the Badness of the Roads, and the Difficulty of supporting so great a Number of Men as he had under his Command, were sufficient to exercise the Abilities of the most experienced Commander; yet he disposed of the Troops in such a Manner, as that he provided effectually for their Safety and Subsistence, and at the same Time took Care to distress the Rebels as much as it was possible; for the very Day after he joined the Army, he detached the Earl of *Ancrum* with one hundred Dragoons, and Major *Morris* with 300 Foot to the Castle of *Corgarf*, at the Head of the River *Don*, forty Miles from *Aberdeen*, and in the Heart of the Country then in Possession of the Rebels, wherein his Royal Highness had Information of their having a considerable Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which his Lordship had Orders to seize or to destroy; which Commission he executed very effectually; for the Rebels retiring upon his Approach, he became Master of the Place and all that was in it; but for want of Horses to carry them off, was obliged to destroy most of the Arms, and thirty Barrels of Powder.

On the 16th of *March*, having Intelligence that *Roy Stuart* with about 1000 Foot and 60 Hussars were at *Strathbogie*, his Royal Highness ordered Lieutenant General *Bland* to drive them from thence, and at the same Time ordered Brigadier General *Mordaunt* with four Battalions and as many Pieces of Cannon to march and support the Major-General, if there should be Occasion. On the 17th the Major-General advanced to *Strathbogie*, and was almost within Sight of the Place before the Rebels had any Notice of his Approach, which alarmed them to such a Degree, that they quitted their Post and retired with great Precipitation towards *Keith*; and though the Evening was wet and hazy, yet the Volunteers under the Marquess of *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and Captain *Halden*, continued the Pursuit till it was almost dark. But this Success was attended with some little Check: For General *Bland* having detached a Captain of *Highlanders* with 70 of his Men, and 30 of *Kingston's* Horse, with Orders to clear that Place and then rejoin the Army, they, contrary to his Directions, ventured to quarter there that Night, which gave the Rebels an Opportunity of surprizing them; for returning from *Fochabers*, whither they had retired, they surrounded the Village of *Keith* in the Night, entered it at both Ends, attacked the *Campbells* who were quartered in the Churchyard, and after an obstinate Resistance cut most of them to Pieces; but the Cornet who commanded *Kingston's* Horse, retired with some of those under his Command; which Accident made the Troops more careful, so that nothing of that Kind happened for the Future. Indeed the Disposition his Royal Highness immediately made, put all Attempts of that Sort out of the Enemy's Power, the Royal Army being divided into three Cantonments, in the following Manner, viz. The whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse,

PLAN of the BATTLE of FALKIRK.





Horse, and Cobham's Dragoons, lay at *Strathbogie*, within 12 Miles of the *Sprey*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*, and Major-General *Bland*. The Reserve, consisting of three Battalions and 4 Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier-General *Mordaunt*, were at *Old Meldrum*, half Way between *Strathbogie* and *Aberdeen*; and the whole second Line, consisting of the six remaining Battalions, and Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons, remained at *Aberdeen*.

The Rebels being very well apprised of the great Importance of *Fort William*, (the taking of which would have made them Masters of the whole Extent of Country from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, and would besides have opened them a Passage, as has been before observed, into *Argyleshire* and the West of *Scotland*;) resolved to leave nothing unattempted that might contribute to the Reduction of this Fortress; and therefore ordered Brigadier *Stapleton* with a large Body of their best Men, most of their Engineers, and as good a Train as they could furnish, that Way in the Beginning of *March*; and on the 2d or 3d of that Month about 1000 Men arrived at *Glenavis*, which is within 2 Miles of *Fort William*, and about this Time they took a Boat belonging to the *Baltimore* Sloop, which was employed in the Service of the Garrison. But Captain *Askew* of the *Serpent* Sloop, detaching his own Boat, with another belonging to the *Baltimore*, and a third belonging to the Garrison of *Fort William*, with about seventy Men in them, forced the Rebels from the *Narrows of Carron*, where they were posted, and made themselves Masters of all their Boats. This was on the 4th of *March*, and was a very effectual and well timed Service: But notwithstanding this Check, the Rebels persisted in their Design of attacking this Fortress. It may not be amiss to give the Reader a regular Journal of this Siege, as drawn up at the Time by an Officer of the Garrison; which will shew how little the Rebels were able to do against Places of any Strength, when defended by Officers of Experience, Fidelity and Courage.

Journal of the Siege of Fort William.

MARCH the fourteenth, we began to heighten the Parapets of our Walls, on the Side where we apprehended the Rebels would attack us. This Work continued the whole Week through, till the 2 Faces of the Bastions were raised 7 Foot high. On the 15th a Detachment of the Garrison, with some Men belonging to his Majesty's Sloops of War, went in armed Boats, to endeavour to destroy *Kilmady Barns*, commonly called the *Corpoch*; the Rebels thereupon flocked down in great Numbers; we fired some Swivels from our Boats, several small Shot were exchanged, we had a Sailor killed, and 3 Men wounded; the Tide falling, this Scheme miscarried. On the 18th the *Baltimore*, Captain *Richard How*, went up towards *Kilmady Barns*, in order to protect the Landing our Men; he fired several Shot, and threw some Cohorn Shells, and set one Hovel on Fire, but

could

could not attempt landing, for the Rebels were intrenched by a hollow Road or Rill, and in great Numbers. The *Baltimore's* Guns being only four Pounders, had no Effect on the Stone Walls of these Barns, which the Rebels had loop-holed. We brought our People back without any Damage.

On the 19th we heard that the Man whom we fired at last *Sunday*, was an Engineer in Chief of the Rebels, and was dangerously wounded; we also heard that we killed 4 Rebels at *Corpooh*. Yesterday 3 Centinels and a Drummer of *Guise's* Regiment made their Escape from the Rebels to us. They were taken at Fort *Augustus*.

The 20th, several Parties covering our Turf Diggers, had Skirmishes with the Rebels on the Neighbouring Hills; and as both Sides skulked behind Craggs and Rocks, we received no Damage, and believe we did as little. That Evening about 11 o'Clock the Rebels opened the Siege by discharging 17 Royals or small Bombs of 5 Inches and a Half Diameter, weighing about 16 and 18 Pounds each, and loaded with 14 Ounces of Powder, from a Battery erected on a small Hill, called the *Sugar Loaf*, about 800 Yards off, which, because of the Distance, did no Execution, the greatest Part of them falling short; and there were returned from the Garrison against the Rebels, 8 Bombs of 18 Inches Diameter, 6 Cohorns, one 12 Pounder, five 6 Pounders, and 2 Swivels.

On *Friday* the 21st, the Rebels finding their Batteries too far off, erected a new one at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, about 400 Yards off, from which between 12 and 4 in the Morning they discharged eighty-four of their Royals, which did little Damage, save penetrating through the Roofs of several Houses, beating down 2 Floors, and slightly wounding two Men of *Olliv's* Company, and a young Man belonging to the Garrison; and there were returned against them 20 Bombs, 9 Cohorns, 3 Six-Pounders, and 2 Swivels.

On the twenty-second, the Rebels opened their Battery of Cannon, from *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, consisting only of three Guns of Six and Four Pounders; but discharged only seven Times, and that without doing any Damage. About twelve o'Clock on this Day, they sent a *French* Drum towards the Fort, who upon his Approach beat a Parley; and being ordered to come near the Walls, Captain *Scot*, our Commander, asked him what he came about? To which he answered that General *Stapleton*, who commanded the Siege, by Directions from the Pretender's Son, had sent him with a Letter to the commanding Officer of the Garrison, requiring him to surrender. Captain *Scot* answered, that he would receive no Letters from Rebels, and was determined to defend the Fort to the last Extremity. The Drummer being returned to the Rebels, a close Bombarding ensued on both Sides, for some Hours; at last we silenced them by beating down the Battery. About ten that Night the Rebels opened a second Bomb-Battery, near the Bottom of the said *Cow-Hill*, about 300 Yards off; from which, and their

their Battery upon the *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, they discharged before 3 in the Morning, 194 of their Royals, and 6 Cannon against us, but without doing any farther Damage than penetrating through some Roofs. We did not return them one Shell, but kept all our Men within Doors, except the Picquet, to stand by the Fire-Engine; the Governor and most of the Officers being upon the Ramparts.

On the 23d, as soon as Day-light appeared, we fired 23 Bombs, two Cohorns, two Twelve Pounders, seven Six-Pounders, and six Swivels at the Rebels Batteries; some of which must have torn up their Platforms. They in Return fired several Cannon upon us, but did no Harm, save shooting off the Leg of *Donald M'Indeor*, of *Balinbay's* Company. About three this Afternoon some Vessels appeared with Supplies for us, and as soon as they had dropped Anchor, the Garrison all at once discharged eight Twelve-Pounders, two Six Pounders, two Bombs, and several Cohorns against their Batteries, which were all so well levelled, that not only a great Part of their Battery was beat down, but they visibly occasioned a great deal of Confusion amongst them. The Men from the Ships saw several amongst the Rebels fall. All this Evening the Rebels were employed in erecting another Work or Battery, under Cover of their Cannon, but about 300 Yards off, at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, which was espied from the Top-mast of some of the Ships.

On the 24th, we fired but little, and the Rebels little also; we employed the greatest part of this Day in getting our Provision on Shore.

On the 25th, at Day-break, we sent out a Party to a Place about six Miles off to bring in some Cattle; the Rebels fired a good deal this Morning, and we plied them a little with our Mortars and Guns. About three in the Afternoon our Party returned, with nineteen good Bullocks and Cows. This Evening we sent off another Party of forty Men, for another Prize of Bullocks, to pass the Narrows of *Carron*, and to get off all they could from the Rebels Estates.

On the 26th, we fired slowly at their Batteries on the Hills; and as they only fired from two Guns, we concluded that we had dismounted the third. This Afternoon our Boats returned with Cattle and Sheep from the Country near *Airdshields*; they also brought in four Prisoners, one of which was wounded; the Party burned two Rebel Villages, and *Appin's* Estate. This Night Captain *Scot* went out and dammed up some Drains near our Walls, in Hopes of Rainy Weather, to make a small Inundation, and with some Pioneers raised the Glacis, or rather Parapet, to seven Feet. For want of Pallisadoes we could not make a right Covered-way, but still this will prevent the Rebels seeing the Foot of our Walls.

On the 27th, at Day-break, the Rebels opened their new Battery of four Embrasures, but only with 3 Guns 6 Pounders, with which they fired very briskly. We plied them with our Mortars and Guns, and silenced one Gun before eight in the Morning. About 9 we set

their Battery Magazine on Fire, which blew up; their Fire was mostly laid at our Buildings, which they could not reach very low. We had this Day two Men a little bruised, and the Governor's Horse wounded in the Stable. Thus in 8 Days Siege and pretty smart Firing with Cannon, and 300 Six-Inch Shells thrown at us, we have lost but one Man killed, 7 wounded, and 2 bruised.

On the 31st, Captain *Scot* ordered 12 Men from each Company to march out to the *Craigs*, about 100 Yards from the Garrison, where the Rebels had a Battery, which after some Dispute and the Loss of one Man only, viz. Serjeant *Duncan Steuart* of the *Argyleshire* Troops, they rushed in upon, and made themselves Masters of. They brought in 3 Brass Field-Pieces 4 Pounders, and 2 Cohorns, from which the Rebels threw their Shells; and brought off another Brass Cannon, a 6 Pounder, which being too heavy to drag in, they spiked and left under the Walls; whence they afterwards dismounted it by Cannon-Shot. The other large Cannon and Mortars on that Battery, they likewise spiked, and left there; and brought in two Prisoners. The Rebels still continued with 5 Cannon they had mounted, to give us all the Uneasiness in their Power, and destroyed the Roofs of most of the Houses.

On the 3d of *April*, the Rebels on a sudden raised their Siege, deserted their Batteries, and with great Precipitation marched for *Inverness*; upon which Captain *Scot* detached a Party of the Garrison, which secured 8 Pieces of Cannon and 7 Mortars, the Enemy had left behind them. The Defeat of this Enterprize seemed to be the Prelude to the many Disasters that followed; till they were entirely crushed by the decisive Action of *Culloden*.

The Reason of this hasty Retreat of the Rebels from before this Fortress, was the Necessity the young Pretender was under of drawing together all his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Inverness*, upon the Approach of the King's Army. But it is requisite that we should give some Account of another Misfortune which befell them, which was no less fatal in its Consequences, than the Disappointment of their Design against Fort *William*. We have already observed that they were in great Distress for Money and other Necessaries, and waited impatiently for a Supply from *France*; which they hoped would soon arrive on board the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they had given the Name of the Prince *Charles Snow*.

On the 25th of *March*, this long-looked for Vessel arrived in *Tongue Bay*, into which she was followed by his Majesty's Ship the *Sheerness*, commanded by Captain *O'Brien*, who immediately attacked her. In the Engagement the *Hazard* Sloop had a great many Men killed, and many more wounded; so that not being able to maintain the Fight, she ran ashore on the Shallows where the *Sheerness* could not follow her; and there she landed her Men and Money. The Place on which she ran on Shore (after being chased 56 Leagues) was
in

in the Lord *Rea's* Country; and it happened, there were then at his Lordship's House, his Son Captain *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monro*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, Captain *Macleod*, and about 80 Men of Lord *Louden's* Regiment, that had retired thither when the Rebels attacked them by Boats, as has been before related.

These Gentlemen having animated the Soldiers to attack, notwithstanding the Superiority of Numbers, those who landed from the Prince *Charles Snow*, obtained after a short Dispute, a compleat Victory, only 3 or 4 being killed on the Side of the Rebels, and with little or no Loss on their Side. Besides 5 Chests of Money and a considerable Quantity of Arms, they took 156 Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors Prisoners, with whom they embarked on board the *Shearneck's* Man of War, and sailed directly for *Aberdeen*, together with another Prize Captain *O'Brien* had taken in the *Orkneys*. The Money, besides one Chest that was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to twelve Thousand and five Hundred Guineas; and amongst the Prisoners there were forty experienced Officers, who had been long either in the *French* or the *Spanish* Service.

At the same Time that the Rebels employed so considerable a Part of their Forces in attacking Fort *William*, they sent another Body under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to make a like Attempt upon the Castle of *Blair*, the principal Seat of his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, but a Place of no great Force, and in which there was only a small Garrison under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*; which Siege or rather Blockade, they raised with the same Hurry and Precipitation on the Approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, as they did that of Fort *William*, upon the very same Day, and from the same Motives. So that we have run through all their Operations in as clear and as succinct a Manner as possible, and have shewn how all their several Bodies were drawn off in order to join the young Chevalier, and to enable him to make a Stand at *Inverness*. We shall now therefore return to the King's Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, which we left properly disposed to march as soon as the Season and Roads would permit, to put an End to this unnatural Rebellion.

The Troops notwithstanding the Severity of the Winter, and the Fatigues they had endured by making a double Campaign, were in the Beginning of *April* so well refreshed that they were every way fit for Service; and so far from apprehending any thing from the Impetuosity of the Highlanders, or the Advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid River, that they shewed the greatest Eagerness to enter upon Action; which tho' his Highness encouraged, and took every Measure possible for keeping up this Ardour in his Army, yet he acted with great Deliberation, and did not move till the Weather was settled, and there was no Danger that the Cavalry should suffer for Want of Forage. At length they marched on the 8th from *Aberdeen*, and encamped on the 11th at *Cullen*, where my Lord *Albemarle* joined

them; and the whole Army was assembled, and next Day marched to the *Spey*, and passed it with no other Loss than of one Dragoon and four Women, who were all drowned thro' Hurry and Indiscretion. Major General *Hulk* was detached in the Morning with 15 Companies of Grenadiers, the Highlanders and all the Cavalry, and 2 Pieces of Cannon, and his Royal Highness went with them himself.

On their first Appearance the Rebels retired from the Side of the *Spey* towards *Elgin*; whereupon the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse immediately forded over, sustained by the Grenadiers and Highlanders, but the Rebels were all got out of their Reach before they could pass. The Foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and tho' the Water came up to their Middles they went on with great Chearfulness. The Rebels appeared to be between two and three Thousand, but they made no Opposition either while the King's Troops were passing, or when Part of them had passed and were on the other Side the *Spey*; for which Conduct of their's it seems very difficult to assign any Reason, unless it were that their Officers being sensible that the Artillery of the King's Troops would secure their Passage, they were unwilling to run the Risk of dispiriting their Men by an unsuccessful Attempt of that Kind; and therefore chose not to dispute the Passage of the *Spey*, but to deceive their Men into an Opinion that they should be well enough able to deal with them when they had passed.

The King's Army marched on to *Elgin* and *Forres*, and from thence to *Nairn*, where they halted on the 15th, and where the Rebels thought to have surprized them; but the Vigilance and strict Discipline his Royal Highness maintained, absolutely disappointed them, notwithstanding which they set Fire to and destroyed Fort *Augustus*, called in all their Parties, and prepared for a general Engagement, which followed the next Day. We have had several Accounts of this great and decisive Action; but the clearest and most distinct, as well as the most authentick, is that dispatched by his Royal Highness dated from *Inverness*, April the 18th, and to which therefore we think it best to adhere.

WE gave our Men a Day's Halt at *Nairn*, and on the 16th, marched between four and five, in four Columns. The three Lines of Foot (reckoning the Reserve for one) were broken into three from the Right, which made three Columns equal, and each of five Battalions. The Artillery and Baggage followed the first Column on the Right, and the Cavalry made the fourth Column on the Left.

After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced Guards, composed of about forty of *Kingston's* and the Highlanders, led on by the Quartermaster-General, perceived the Rebels at some Distance making a Motion towards us on the Left; upon which we immediately formed; but finding the Rebels still were a good Way from us, and that the whole Body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our March in our former Posture, and continued it to within a Mile of them, where we again formed in the same Order as before. After reconnoitring

reconnoitring their Situation, we found them posted behind some old Walls and Huts in a Line with *Culloden House*. As we thought our Right intirely secure, General *Hawley* and General *Bland* went to the Left with the two Regiments of Dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the Right Flank of the Rebels, and *Kingston's Horse* were ordered to the Reserve. The 10 Pieces of Cannon were disposed 2 in each of the Intervals of the first Line, and all our Highlanders (except about 140, which were upon the Left with General *Hawley*, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the Baggage.

When we advanced within 500 Yards of the Rebels, we found the Morals upon our Right was ended, which left our Right Flank quite uncovered to them. His Royal Highness thereupon immediately ordered *Kingston's Horse* from the Reserve, and a little Squadron of about 60 of *Cobham's*, which had been patrolling, to cover our Flank, and *Pultney's Regiment* was ordered from the Reserve to the Right of the Royals.

We spent about half an Hour after that trying which should gain the Flank of the other; and his Royal Highness having sent Lord *Bury* forward within 100 Yards of the Rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a Battery to us, they thereupon began firing their Cannon, which was extremely ill served and ill pointed. Ours immediately answered them, which began their Confusion. They then came running on in their wild Manner. And upon the Right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest Push would be there, they came down three several Times within 100 Yards of our Men, firing their Pistols and brandishing their Swords. But the Royals and *Pultney's* hardly took their Firelocks from their Shoulders; so that after those faint Attempts they made off, and the little Squadron on our Right were sent to pursue them. General *Hawley* had by the Help of our Highlanders beat down two little Stone Walls, and came in upon the right Flank of their Line.

As their whole first Line came down to attack at once, their Right somewhat out-flanked *Barrel's Regiment*; which was on our Left, and the greatest Part of the little Loss we sustained was there. But *Bligh's* and *Sempil's* giving a Fire upon those who had outflanked *Barrel's*, soon repulsed them; and *Barrel's Regiment*, and the Left of *Munro's* fairly beat them with their Bayonets; there was scarce a Soldier or Officer of *Barrel's*, or in that Part of *Monro's* which engaged, who did not kill one or two Men each with their Bayonets and Spontoons.

The Cavalry, which had charged from their Right and Left, met in the Center, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in Pursuit of the Run-aways. Lord *Ancram* was ordered to pursue with the Horse, as far as he could; and did it with so good Effect, that a very considerable Number were killed in the Pursuit.

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As we were on our March to *Inverness*, and were near arrived there, Major General *Bland* sent his Highness several Papers, which he received from the *French* Officers and Soldiers, surrendering themselves Prisoners to his Royal Highness. Major General *Bland* had also made great Slaughter, and took about 50 *French* Officers and Soldiers Prisoners, in his Pursuit. By the best Calculation that can be made, it is thought the Rebels lost 2000 Men upon the Field of Battle, and in the Pursuit.

We have omitted the Lists annexed to this Account, as well for the Sake of keeping within Bounds, as because they could not be very exact at that Time, but were afterwards much enlarged. All the *French* Officers on the 17th signed a Writing, acknowledging themselves Prisoners of War to his *Britannick* Majesty, and promising so to remain on their Parole of Honour. Amongst which were Brigadier *Stapleton*, the Marquis *de Guilles*, whom the *Highlanders* called the *French* Ambassador, Lord *Lewis Drummond*, and about 50 more. The Loss on the Side of the King's Army was very inconsiderable, the only Persons of Note killed were Lord *Robert Kerr*, Captain in *Barrel's* Regiment, Captain *Croisset* of *Price's*, Captain *John Campbell* of *Loudon's*, and Captain *Colin Campbell* of the Militia; besides these, 50 private Men killed, and 250 wounded.

The Number of all the Persons taken in this signal Victory were 222 *French*, and 226 Rebels; all their Artillery and Ammunition, with other Military Stores, and 12 Colours likewise fell into the Hands of the Victors. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was taken in the Action; Lord *Balmerino*, at first reported to be killed, was taken soon after; and four Ladies that had been very active in the Rebellion, were likewise seized at *Inverness*; viz. Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Kinloch*, Lady *Gordon*, and Lady *Mackintosh*. Immediately after the Battle, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detached with the Volunteers to the Number of 900 into the *Frazer's* Country, in order to reduce all who should be found in Arms there; and with the like View other Detachments were made into other disaffected Parts of the Country, which put it entirely out of the Power of the Rebels ever to assemble afterwards in any Body, capable of disturbing the Peace of the Country, being reduced to the Necessity of separating into small Parties, in order to shift the better for themselves. About the same Time that the whole Forces of the Rebels were thus vanquished at the Battle of *Culloden*, the Earl of *Cromarty*, his eldest Son, a great many Officers of Distinction, and about 150 private Men were surprized in the North, by a very small Party of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, who sent them Prisoners on board his Majesty's Ship the *Hound*, Captain *Dove*, from *Sutherland* to *Inverness*, where they arrived about the Time his Royal Highness made his second Dispatch.

Thus the Flame of the Rebellion, which after being smothered for a Time in *Scotland*, broke out at last with such Force, as to spread
itself

itself into *England*, and not without Reason alarmed the Inhabitants of this Metropolis, was in a short Space totally extinguished by him who gave the first Check to its Force; and who perhaps alone was capable of performing this Service to his Country, his Father, and his King. It is sufficiently known how great a Hazard the Person runs of displeasing him, who praises his Royal Highness; but the Regard we owe to Truth, Justice, and the Publick, obliges one on this Occasion to declare, that Providence particularly made use of him as its most proper Instrument in performing this Work. He it was who revived the Spirits of the People by the Magnanimity of his own Behaviour. He without Severity restored Discipline in the Army. He prudently delayed at *Aberdeen* till the Troops recovered their Fatigue, and the Season opened a Road to Victory. He waited with Patience, chose with Discretion, and most happily and gloriously improved that Opportunity which blasted the Hopes of the Rebels, and has secured to us the present Possession and future Prospect of the wisest and best framed Constitution, administered by the gentlest and most indulgent Government *Europe* can boast.

The Joy with which the News of this Victory was received at *London* is not easy to be described, but it may be truly said, that it was greater and more general than any Thing that has been seen of the same Nature in our Times. At the same Time, that the middle and lower Rank of People expressed their Satisfaction, and their sincere Sense of the Obligations they lay under to the Duke, as the Author under God of their Safety; the same Spirit shewed itself in both Houses of Parliament, where on the 29th of *April 1746*, Resolutions were taken to transmit to his Royal Highness the Thanks of both Houses, which being expressed in very peculiar Terms, and his Royal Highness's Answers to them being every way worthy of the Reader's Notice and Remembrance, we judged it a Duty indispensable to insert them, and they are as follows:

The Thanks of the House of Peers.

“ *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, for his great and eminent Services performed by him to his Majesty and his Kingdoms against the Rebels; and that his Royal Highness be assured of the just Sense which this House has, in how distinguished a manner the late Victory was owing to his Valour and Conduct, and to his indefatigable Zeal, Activity and Labours, in the Cause of his Royal Father, and of his Country, and of our ardent Wishes, that his Royal Highness may have the Glory entirely to compleat the great Work which he has so successfully begun and carried on.---*Ordered*, That the Lord-Chancellor transmit the same to his Royal Highness.”

*Copy of his Royal Highness the DUKE's Letter to the Lord-Chancellor,
Dated from Inverness May 7, 1746.*

My Lord-Chancellor,

I Could not possibly have received a more welcome and affecting Proof of that distinguished Zeal and Loyalty which the House of Lords has constantly shewn to his Majesty's Person and Government, than by their favourable Acceptance of my Endeavours for the Publick Service; and I desire you will lay before the House, my sincere Acknowledgements for the Regard they have shewn me on this Occasion. The Resolution and Firmness expressed by Officer and Soldier, in His Majesty's Army under my Command, deserve the highest Commendations; but the Guilt and Terror of that unhappy insatuated Multitude, who vainly hoped by unprovoked tumultuary Arms, and a contemptible foreign Assistance, to shake an Establishment founded in the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects, afforded us so easy a Victory, that I can only express my Gratitude for the favourable Impressions with which the News of it was received by the House of Lords, whose good Opinion and Thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the most honourable Testimonies and Rewards that any Action of mine could receive. I have only to add my Thanks to yourself, for the obliging manner in which you have executed the Commands of the House of Lords, and for the good Wishes with which you have accompanied them, of the Reality of which I am firmly persuaded.

My Lord-Chancellor,

your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

The Thanks of the Commons ran thus :

“ Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That the Thanks of this House be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, for the eminent and very important Services performed by him to His Majesty and the Kingdom over the Rebels, particularly in the late great Defeat in *Scotland* by his Majesty's Forces, under his Royal Highness's Command,----Ordered, That the said Thanks be transmitted to his Royal Highness by Mr. Speaker.

Copy of his ROYAL HIGHNESS's Letter to Mr. Speaker. Dated Inverness May the 7th, 1746.

“ Mr. Speaker,

I Desire you would acquaint the House of Commons with the just Sense I have of the Regard they have been pleased to shew me on this Occasion; and to assure them that nothing can be more agreeable to me than their Congratulation upon the Success of his Majesty's Arms, which is so authentick a Testimonial of their steady Zeal and Loyalty for his Majesty's Person and Government. The Esteem and Approbation of my Endeavours in the Publick Service fill my Wishes, and it will always be my Study to deserve the Continuance of their good Opinion. I cannot enough extoll my own good Fortune in being

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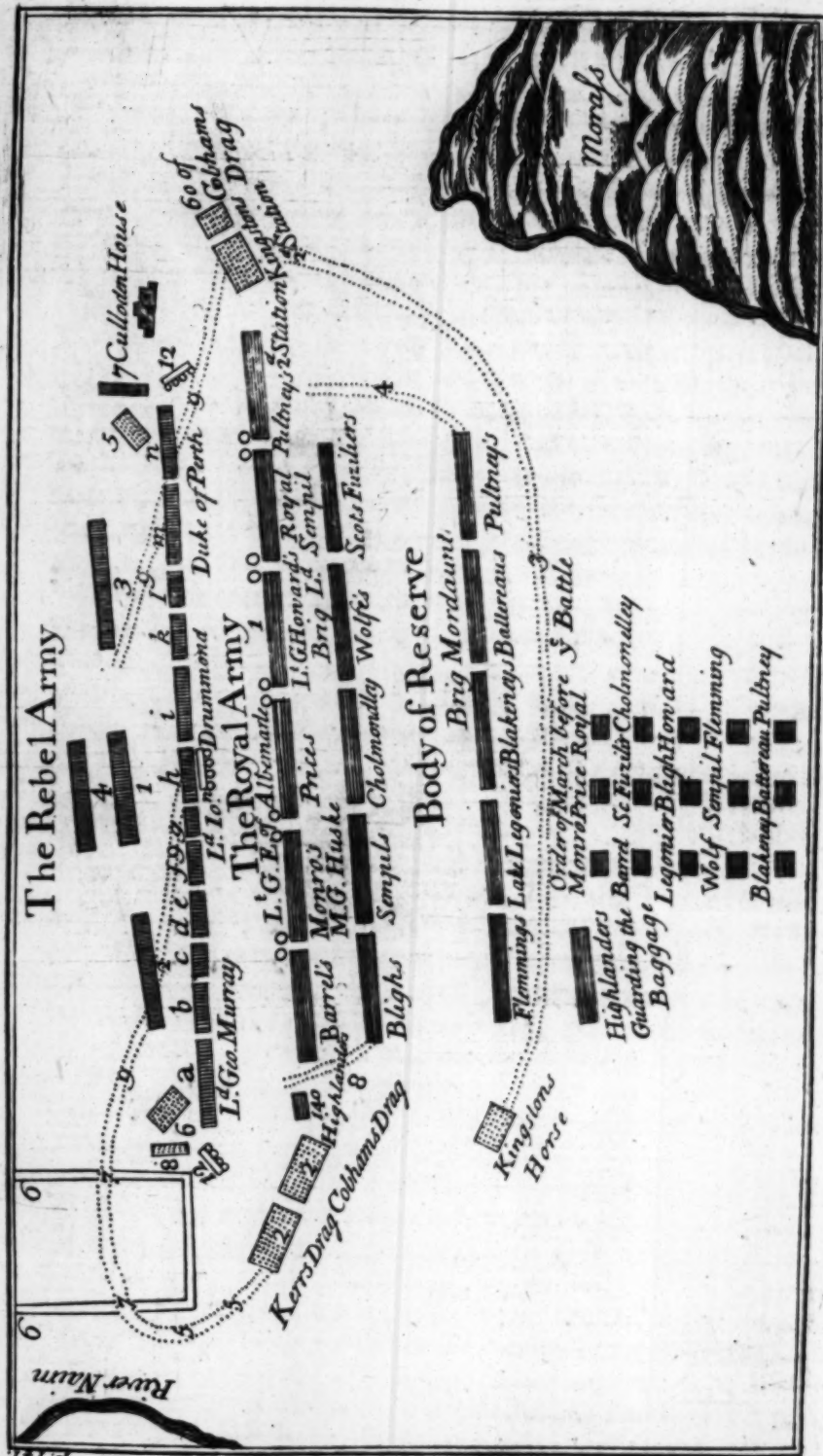
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PLAN of the BATTLE of CULLODEN



ing placed at the Head of an Army, which expressed all along the best Affections and the greatest Ardour, and crown'd all by the Resolution shewn by every Officer and Soldier in the Day of Action; to which (under God) our Success was owing. I return you my Thanks for the Cordiality and Affection with which you have executed the Commands of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

Your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM."

The Houses of Parliament likewise addressed the King upon this glorious and important Victory; and in the Address of the House of Commons, the concluding Paragraph ran in these Words: "We beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that your faithful Commons, truly sensible of the great Benefits this Nation has received from the eminent Courage and Conduct of his Royal Highness the D U K E upon this Occasion; are desirous, and will be ready to give his Royal Highness such distinguishing Marks of Publick Gratitude as shall be most agreeable to your Majesty, and are justly due to his superior Merit."

His Majesty having considered the Nature and Import of this Address; on the 13th of May following, sent the House of Commons a Message in the subsequent Terms: viz.

An EXPLANATION of the opposite P L A N.

The REBEL ARMY.

1 *The young Pretender's Station: Lord Lewis Gordon's and Glenbucket's, 800 Men.* — 2 *These have only Guns, Col. Roy Stewart, 800.* — 3 *These have only Guns, Kilmarnock, 800.* — 4 *Duke of Perth's Regiment, and Lord Ogilvie's, 800.* — 5 *Guards, Hussars, and Perthshire Squadron.* — 6 *Fitz James's Horse.* — 7 *Lord John Drummond, 400.* — 8 *Piquets, by Stapleton, French, 400.* — 12 *Four Gun Batteries.* — a *Glengary, 600.* — b *Keppoch, 300.* — c *Clanronald, 250.* — d *M'Lean, 100.* — e *M'Leod, 100.* — f *M'Intosh, 300.* — g *Farquharson, 200.* — h *M'Intosh, 400.* — i *Lovat, 500.* — k *Cluny, 300.* — l *Appin, 200.* — m *Lochiel, 500.* — n *Athol, 500.* — Total, 8350.

The ROYAL ARMY.

1 *His Royal Highness the Duke's Station.* — 2 *General Hawley and General Bland.* — 3 *4 March of Kingston's Horse and Pulteney's Foot, from the Reserve, to cover our Right Flank, when the Morass was finished.* — 5 *March of General Hawley, with Kerr's and Cobham's Dragoons, and 140 Highlanders, to the two Walls that covered the Right Flank of the Rebels second Line.* — 6 *The two Walls.* — 7 *The Walls broke down by our Highlanders.* — 8 *March of Bligh's and Sempil's Regiments to the Assistance of Burtel's Regiment, who were out-flanked.* — 9 *All our Horse driving thro' the Rebel Army, and meeting in their Centre.* — o o Cannon.

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"GEORGE R.

THE Desire which his Majesty's faithful Commons have expressed to shew some publick mark of their Approbation of the Services performed by his dearly beloved Son the Duke of Cumberland, towards suppressing the Rebellion, and preserving our happy Constitution in Church and State; has given his Majesty the greatest Satisfaction. His Majesty is therefore persuaded, that upon this Occasion he complies with the Inclination of this House, in recommending to their Consideration, the settling an Additional Revenue upon his said Son, and his Issue Male, with such Provisions as shall be judged proper." The next Day, pursuant to his Majesty's Message of the 13th the Commons voted (*Nem. con.*) that an Additional Revenue of 25,000 l. be settled on his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, and on the Heirs Male of his Body, for the signal Services done by his Royal Highness to his Country; to be issuing and payable out of the Duties and Revenues, composing the Aggregate Fund. ----- His Royal Highness had before only 15,000 l. *per. An.* payable out of the Civil List.

We will now return into *Scotland*, where the Duke took all the necessary Precautions for effectually scattering the very Embers of the late Fire, that they might not be raked together again, or by the Addition of any fresh Fuel blown into a fresh Flame. With this View he sent Detachments of well-affected Highlanders and regular Troops into the wildest Countries belonging to the Clans that had been in Arms, where such as submitted were received to Mercy, and such had their Countries burn'd as stood out, and at the same Time their Cattle were driven away, that they might be the less able to subsist, and those Cattle sold for the Benefit of the Soldiers in the King's Army. These Measures had very great Consequences, the burning Lord *Lovat's* and *Cameron of Lochiel's* Houses had a great Effect, and struck much Terror, so that in a very short Space of Time there were scarce any Parties of Rebels to be heard of, and most of their Chiefs surrendered, were taken, or found Means to escape out of the Island.

Among the first were the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, who stiled himself Duke of *Athol*, who died afterwards a Prisoner in the Tower; Mr. *William Murray*, a near Relation of the Earl of *Dunmore's*, who has been pardoned; the Earl of *Kelly*, and the Master of *Lovat*. As for Lord *Lovat*, his Father, Mr. *Murray of Broughton*, and many more, they were taken at different Times; but the Duke of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond* his Brother; Lord *Elchoe* eldest Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, and several of their Associates made their Escapes by sea, in two *French Privateers*, that were sent to carry off those who had been doing the Business of *France*, at the Expence of their Honours and Fortunes. Lord *Pitflige*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*, retired the same way, and Lord *Ogilby*, with 13 or 14 more shipped themselves in a small Vessel for *Norway*, where, as soon as they arrived they were

were seized, by Orders from the late King of *Denmark*, but were afterwards released, retired into *Sweden*, and found means to get from thence into *France*. Lord *George Murray* also made his Escape.

As for the young Pretender himself, he found it much more difficult to withdraw than any of his Adherents, which was the reason that he remained long behind them; and as it may be expected that a more particular Account should be given of his Adventures, we shall endeavour it without any mixture of those romantick Tales that have been published on that Head.

He was in the Body of Reserve at the Battle of *Culloden*, where he is said to have had a Horse shot under him; but while the *French* were treating with the King's Troops in order to be received Prisoners of War, he mounted a fresh Horse and made his Escape. That very Evening, being the 16th of *April*, he retired to the House of a Factor of Lord *Lowat's* about 10 miles from *Inverness*, where meeting with that Lord he staid Supper. After Supper was over he set out for *Fort Augustus*, and pursued his Journey the next Day to *Invergarry*; where he proposed to have dined, but finding no Victuals he set a Boy to fishing, who caught two Salmon, on which he made a hearty meal, and waited there for some of his Troops, who had promised to rendezvous at that Place, but being disappointed he resolved to proceed to *Lochbartig*: He arrived there on the 18th at two in the Morning, where he went to Sleep, which he had not done for five Days and Nights; he remained there till Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, in hopes of obtaining some Intelligence, but gaining none he set out from thence on Foot, and travelled to the Glen of *Morar*, where he arrived the 19th at Four in the Morning.

He set out about Noon the same Day for *Arrashaig*, where he arrived about Four in the Afternoon. He remained there about seven Days, waiting for Captain *O'Neil*, who joined him on the 27th, and informed him that there were no Hopes of drawing his Troops together again in a Body, upon which he resolved to go to *Stornway*, in order to hire a Ship to go to *France*: The Person employed for this Purpose was one *Donald McLeod*, who had an Interest there. On the 28th he went on Board an eight-oar'd Boat, in Company with *Sullivan* and *O'Neil*, ordering the People who belonged to the Boat to make the best haste they could to *Stornway*.

The Night proving very tempestuous, they all begged of him to go back, which he would not do, but to keep up the Spirits of the People he sung them a Highland Song; but the Weather growing worse, on the 29th about 7 in the Morning they were driven on Shore on a Point of Land called *Rushness*, in the Island of *Benbicula*, where, when they got on Shore, the Pretender helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew who were almost starved to Death with Cold. On the 30th, at 6 in the Evening, they set sail again for *Stornway*, but meeting with another Storm were obliged to put into the Island of

Scalp in the *Harris*, where they all went on Shore to a Farmer's House, passing for Merchants that were Shipwreck'd in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*. The Pretender and *Sullivan* going by the Names of *Sinclair*, the latter passing for the Father, and the former for his Son. They thought proper to send from thence to *Donald M'Leod* at *Stornway*, with Instructions to freight a Ship for the *Orkneys*. On the 3d of *May* they received a Message from him, that a Ship was ready.

On the 4th they set out on Foot for that Place, where they arrived on the 5th about Noon, and meeting with *Donald M'Leod*, they found that he had got into Company, where growing drunk he had told a Friend of his for whom he had hired the Ship: Upon which there were two hundred People in Arms at *Stornway*, upon a Report that the Pretender was landed with five hundred Men, and was coming to burn the Town, so that they were obliged to lie all Night upon the Moor, with no other Refreshment than Bisket and Brandy. On the 6th they resolved to go in the eight-oar'd Boat to the *Orkneys*, but his Crew refused to venture, so that they were obliged to steer South along the Coast-side, where they met with two *English* Ships, and this compelled them to put into a desert Island; where they remained till the 10th, without any Provision but some Salt-fish they found upon the Island.

About Ten in the Morning on that Day they embarked for the *Harris*, and at break of Day on the 11th they were chased by an *English* Ship, but made their Escape among the Rocks; about four in the Afternoon they arrived at the Island of *Benbicula*, where they stayed till the 14th, and then set out for the Mountain of *Curra*da in *South Uist*, where they stay'd till the Militia of the Isle of *Sky* came to the Island of *Irasky*; and then sailed for the Island *Uia*, where they remained three Nights, till having Intelligence that the Militia were coming towards *Benbicula*, they immediately got into their Boat, and sailed for *Lochbusdale*, but being met by some Ships of War, they were obliged to return to *Lochbagnart*, where they remained all Day, and at Night sailed for *Lochbusdale*, where they arrived, and stay'd eight Days on a Rock, making a Tent of the Sail of the Boat. They found themselves there in a most dreadful Situation; for having Intelligence that Captain *Scot* had landed at *Kilbride*, the Company was obliged to separate, and the Pretender and *O'Neil* went to the Mountains, where they remained all Night, and soon after were informed that General *Campbell* was at *Bernary*; so that now they had Forces very near on both sides of them, and were absolutely at a Loss which way to move.

In their Road they met with a young Lady, one Miss *M'Donald*, to whom Captain *O'Neil* propos'd assisting the Pretender to make his escape, which at first she refused; but upon his offering to put on Woman's Cloaths she consented, and desired them to go to the Mountain of *Curra*da, till she sent for them; where they accordingly stay'd two Days, but hearing nothing from the young Lady, the Pretender

Pretender concluded she would not keep her Word, and therefore resolved to send Captain *O'Neil* to General *Campbell*, to let him know he was willing to surrender himself to him: But about five in the Evening a Message came from the young Lady, desiring them to meet her at *Rushness*: Being afraid to pass by the Ford because of the Militia, they luckily found a Boat which carried them to the other side of *Uia*, where they remained Part of the Day, afraid of being seen by the Country People. In the Evening they set out for *Rushness*, and arrived there at Twelve at Night; but not finding the young Lady, and being alarmed by a Boat full of Militia, they were obliged to retire two miles back, where the Pretender remained on a Moor till *O'Neil* went to the young Lady, and prevailed upon her to come to the Place appointed at Night-fall of the next Day.

About an Hour after they had an Account of General *Campbell's* Arrival at *Benbicula*, which obliged them to remove to another part of the Island, where, as the Day broke, they discovered four Sail close on the Shore, making directly up to the Place where they were, so that there was nothing left for them to do but throw themselves among the Heath. When the Wherries were gone they resolved to go to *Clanronald's* House, but when they were within a Mile of it, they heard General *Campbell* was there, which forced them to retreat again, and soon after *O'Neil* was taken.

We have no distinct Accounts of what became of him after this, for the Remainder of that Month and the greatest Part of the next, except that he shifted about from Place to Place in Women's Cloaths, and on the 28th of *June* went with the Lady whom he attended in a little Boat from South *Uist* to the Isle of *Sky*; there he resumed his own Dress, and was carried by one *Mackinnon* in a Boat to *Raga*, from whence he returned in a Boat to *Sky*, and after some Stay there, went back to the Continent. About the middle of *July*, the Government had certain Intelligence of his crossing the Hill of *Morar* in *Lochabar*, proceeding from thence to *Badenoch*, and on the 23d of *July* he was at *Arifaig*, and continued wandering about that Country in great Distress during all the Month of *August*.

On the 6th of *September*, two French Privateers came upon the Coast of *Moidart*, where the Pretender first landed, and made strict Inquiry after him. Several of the *Camerons*, and some of the *Macdonalds* repair'd to them, and were employ'd to search for the Pretender; but it was the 17th before he came down to them, and was then dressed in a short Coat of black Freez, with a Plad over it, and seemed to be brought very low by the Sufferings he had gone through. He embarked the next Day about Noon, attended by the following Persons, *Macpherson* of *Clunie*, with others of his Clan, *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, Dr. *Cameron* his Brother, *Lodwick Cameron* of *Tor-Castle*, *Allan Cameron*, and *Macdonald* of *Lochgarry*, with many others

others whose Names were not known. *Macdonald* of *Barisdale* and his Son went on Board the Ships before his Arrival.

We were first informed that these were Men of War, and afterwards that they were Privateers fitted out on Purpose at the *French* King's Expence; but at length it was known that they were the *Happy* Privateer of 30 Guns and 300 Men, and the Prince of *Conti* of 20 Guns and 240 Men, fitted out from *St. Malo's* by some of his own Adherents. They were obliged to sail round the Land's-End, where they were chased by two *English* Men of War; but escaped by the Thickness of the Weather; and on the 29th arrived in a Creek three Leagues to the West of *Morlaix*, where he presently went ashore. It is very remarkable, that his Landing in *France* fell out at the very Time of our Invasion of *Bretagne*; and that a Party of General *Sinclair's* Forces were within a very few Miles of the Place where he lay the first Night.

He was so extremely fatigued, and in so bad a State of Health, that he rested a Week before he went to *Fontainebleau*, where the *French* Court then was, and where (if their *Gazettes* deserve any Credit) he met with a very kind Reception, had a great Sum of Money given him, a large Pension settled upon him, and mighty Promises made him; but all this was only to serve the present Turn, and to express the Resentment of the *French* Court for our Attempt upon Port *L'Orient*. For the Situation of Things changing, the Disposition of the *French* Court changed likewise; his Pension was forgot, the Complaints he made little regarded, and at last he was fairly given to understand, that the best Thing himself and his Brother could do was to retire to *Avignon*, which they accordingly did.

The eldest Brother went lately from thence to *Madrid*, and very different Accounts we have of his Reception there; some say the King refused to see him, some that he saw him twice, some that he sent him 1000 Pistoles, some that he gave him 50,000; but all Accounts agree, that he made a very short Stay there, had no sort of Honours paid him, but retired hastily into *France*, and what is become of him since is a Mystery that is not yet revealed.

We are now come to the last Head of what we proposed, which is, to give an Account of the legal Proceedings against the Persons concerned in the Rebellion. His Majesty's Reign had been hitherto unspotted with Blood, but now the Mildness of the Government should give Place to Justice. It was become requisite for the Security of the Constitution, restoring the Vigour of the Laws, and maintaining the future Tranquillity of the Kingdom, to make Examples of such as had disturbed it. The Voice of the Nation demanded it, and the Legislature had provided that this should be speedily and effectually done, by passing an Act agreeable to the Practice of former Times, for regulating the Tryals of such as had been guilty of High-Treason. The Prisons were crowded with Offenders taken in Arms, who were to be tried pursuant

pursuant to this Act; and for this Purpose his Majesty issued a Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* to the Judges and other proper Persons, to sit for that Purpose at *St. Margaret's-Hill* in the Borough of *Southwark*, in the County of *Surry*.

But as many of the Chiefs who were most guilty were not taken, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Commons in the Beginning of the Month of *May*, and Witnesses were examined to prove the Guilt of the Persons named therein. After it had passed the Commons, the like Examination of Witnesses was had in the House of Lords, where the Bill was likewise passed; and on *Wednesday* the 4th of *June* his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave his Royal Assent to an Act for attainting the Persons named therein of High-Treason, in case they did not surrender themselves to one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, on or before the 12th of *July* following, and submit to Justice.

The Persons included in this Bill were, *Alexander Erskine* Earl of *Kelly*, who avoided the Attainder by surrendering himself; *William (Drummond)* Viscount *Strathallan*; *Alexander (Forbes)* Lord *Pitligo*; *David Wemyss*, Esq; called Lord *Elcho*, eldest Son and Heir apparent to *James* Earl of *Wemyss*, *James Drummond*, Esq; eldest Son of Lord *Strathallan*; *Simon Fraser*, Esq; eldest Son of Lord *Lovat*, who surrendered the Day after the time limited; *George Murray*, Esq; Brother to the Duke of *Athol*; *Lewis Gordon*, Esq; Brother to the Duke of *Gordon*; *James Drummond*, called Duke of *Perth*; *James Graham*, called Viscount of *Dundee*; *John Nairn*, called Lord *Nairn*; *David Ogilvie*, called Lord *Ogilvie*; *John Drummond*, called Lord *John Drummond*, Brother to the titular Duke of *Perth*; *Robert Mercer*, Esq; alias *Nairn of Aldie*; Sir *William Gordon of Park*; *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq; taken before the Day, but admitted to surrender notwithstanding; *John Gordon* the elder, of *Glenbuckie*; *Donald Cameron* the younger, of *Lochiel*; Dr. *Archibald Cameron*, Brother of *Lochiel*; *Ludovick Cameron* of *Tor-castle*; *Alexander Cameron* of *Dungallon*; *Donald Mac Donald* the younger, of *Clanronald*; *Donald Mac Donald* of *Lochgarie*; *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Kepoch*, *Archibald Mac Donald* of *Barrisdale*, *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Glencoe*, *Evan Mac Pherson* of *Clunie*, *Lauchlan Mac Lauchlan* of *Castle Lauchlan*, *John Mac Kinnon* of *Mac Kinnon*, *Charles Stewart* of *Ardshiel*; *G. Lockhart*, eldest Son of *G. Lockhart* of *Cornwath*; *Laurence Oliphant*, the elder, of *Gask*; *Laurence Oliphant*, the younger, of *Gask*; *James Graham*, the younger, of *Airth*; *John Stewart*, called *John Roy Stewart*; *Francis Farquharson*, of *Monalterye*; *Alexander Mac Giliorae*, of *Drumaglash*; *Lauchlan Mac Intosh*, Merchant, of *Inverness*; *Malcolm Ross*, of *Pitcalny*; *Alexander MacLeod*; *John Ray*, of *Restalrig*, Writer to the Signet; *Andrew Lansdale*, otherwise *Lumsdain*; *William Fidler*, Clerk in the Auditor's Office.

On

On Monday the 23^d of *June*, eight of the Judges went in the usual State from *Serjeant's-Inn* to the Hall on *St. Margaret's-Hill, Southwark*, where they opened the Special Commission for the Trial of the Rebel Prisoners; when a Grand Jury of which Sir *William Richardson* of *Bermondsey*, Knight, was Foreman, and three other Knights, and nineteen Esquires of the County of *Surry* were impanelled, to whom a learned Charge was given; after which they withdrew, and found Bills of Indictment for High Treason, in levying War, against the Earls of *Cromartie* and *Kilmarnock*, and against Lord *Balmerino*. At the same Time they likewise found Bills of the same Nature against thirty-seven Commoners, who had a reasonable Time given them to prepare for their Trials.

The House of Peers being informed that Bills had been found against the three Lords, directed that a Writ of *Certiorari* should be issued for bringing the said Indictments before them, and appointed also a Committee to consider of the proper Methods for bringing the said Lords to their Trials. Before we proceed to the Detail of what happened in Reference to these Judicial Proceedings, it becomes absolutely necessary to take Notice of a very extraordinary Step the *French Court* thought fit to make upon this Occasion. The Reader will observe, that the Pretender's Son was at this Time in *Scotland*, that many of the unhappy Persons engaged in this Rebellion had been drawn into it by Assurances given them that their Cause would be supported by *France*: To keep up this Notion therefore, and thereby the Spirits of these deluded People, and perhaps to hinder the good Effects that might have attended that Spirit of Tendernefs and Compassion, which had always distinguished his Majesty's Administration, an Attempt was made to deter the Government from bringing these People to Justice.

Some have imagined that the Rebels themselves, by their Friends at the *French Court*, suggested this Measure; but that is very improbable, since, except in taking up Arms, they had not shewn any Signs of Weakness or Folly, of which this had been the highest Proof, since it cut them off from the only remaining Object of their Hope, his Majesty's Inclination to Mercy. Some are persuaded their Friends at the Court of *France* procured this Interposition without their Application; but this is likewise improbable, because the true Friends of People in such Circumstances never take any Steps without consulting those to whom they relate, and who must be presumed to be the best Judges of their own Affairs. The most probable Account therefore of the Matter is, that the *French Court* did it to serve their own Purposes, as they did every Thing else from the Beginning of these Troubles.

The *French Minister* therefore, for Foreign Affairs, wrote a very strange Letter upon this Head, from the Camp, to the *Dutch Ambassador* at *Paris*, beseeching him to exert that Sort of Eloquence, for which

which he is famous, upon this Occasion; which he accordingly did, but the Application was received here in the Manner that might be well expected, and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State gave the *Dutch* Minister such an Answer, as shewed how little Impression *French* Threatnings made here, and how very highly his Conduct, in this respect, was resented. These Letters are of such Consequence in themselves, and belong so immediately to this History, that we cannot avoid inserting them.

M. D'Argenson's Letter to M. Van-Hoeij.

S I R,

THE King has ordered me to write to your Excellency, concerning the Situation of Prince *Edward*, and his Adherents, since the Advantage gained over them by the *English* Troops, the 27th of last Month. All *Europe* knows the Tyes of *Parentage* which subsist between me and Prince *Edward*. Moreover, this young Prince is endowed with all the Qualities which might engage those Powers to interest themselves in his Favour, who esteem true Courage; and the King of *England* is himself too just and impartial a Judge of true Merit, not to set a Value upon it, even in an Enemy. The Character of the *British* Nation in general, cannot likewise but inspire all *Englishmen* with the same Sentiments of Admiration, for a Countryman, so distinguished by his Talents and heroic Virtues. All these Reasons ought naturally to favour the Fate of Prince *Edward*; and at the same time we may expect from the Moderation and Clemency of the King of *England*, that he will not suffer those Persons to be persecuted with the utmost Rigour, who, in the Time of Trouble and Confusion, followed the Standard which was lately overthrown by the *British* Arms, under the Command of the Duke of *Cumberland*. Nevertheless, Sir, as in the first Motions of a Revolution, Resentment is sometimes carried to a greater Height than in more peaceable Times, the King thinks proper, as far as in him lies, to prevent the dangerous Effects of any too severe Measures which his *Britannic* Majesty might take upon this Occasion. 'Tis with this just View, Sir, that the King ordered me to desire your Excellency to write to the *English* Ministry, and to represent to it, in the strongest Manner, the Inconveniences which must infallibly result from any violent Proceedings against Prince *Edward*. The Right of Nations, and the particular Interest which his Majesty makes in respect to that Prince, are Motives that will probably make some Impression upon the Court of *London*; and his Majesty hopes to find none but noble and generous Proceedings from the King of *England* and the *English* Nation; and that all those who were lately concerned in the Interest of the House of *Stuart*, will likewise have Reason to extol the Generosity and Clemency of his *Britannic* Majesty. But if, contrary to all Expectations, any Attempts should be made, either with Respect to the Liberty of Prince *Edward*, or the Life of his Friends and Partisans, 'tis easy to foresee that a

Spirit of Animosity and Fury might prove one dreadful Consequence of such Rigour; and how many innocent People, before the End of the War, may fall Victims to a Violence, which could only aggravate the Evil, and would certainly set no good Example to *Europe*. No body, Sir, is more capable than you are, to set forth these Reasons. Your Equity, and your Love of Peace will suggest to you what is best to say upon this important Subject. Your Excellency must be sensible, that there is not a Moment to be delayed in writing to the Ministers of the King of *England*; and I hope you will do me the Favour to communicate to me the Answer you receive from them, that I may give an Account of it to the King, that he may take such Resolutions upon this Occasion, as his Majesty shall think suitable to the Glory and Dignity of his Crown. He sincerely wishes, that the King of *England* may give him none but Examples of Humanity and Greatness of Soul, &c."

Camp at Bouchout, May 26th, 1746.

Letter from M. Van-Hoeey to the Duke of Newcastle, in which the former was inclosed.

My LORD,

I Have the Honour to send to your Excellency a Letter I just now received from M. D'Argenson, in Relation to the present State of the Affairs of the Pretender's eldest Son, and those of his Adherents, since the Defeat they have met with from his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*. Your Excellency will perceive thereby, how much that Court confides in me, what Credit I, by my long Residence there, have gained, and how far it is inclined to believe, that my Love of Peace and Equity will furnish me with Arguments to enforce its Recommendations. I wish, my Lord, I was Master of the greatest Eloquence upon Earth, and were able effectually to employ my whole Life to convince Mankind, that by doing to others as we would they should do unto us, is the Foundation of the Supreme Happiness of States, Nations, Kings, their Subjects, and in general, of human Kind. This is a Duty well known by your Excellency; and Providence expects from you a Compliance, from the high Station with which he has blessed you. May Persuasion flow from your Lips like Honey, and every one will be convinced, that we are only happy in Proportion to the Good we do to others. May you, my Lord, banish that pernicious Art which Discord hath brought into the World, of seducing Men to destroy one another. Wretched Policy! which substitutes Revenge, Hatred, Jealousy and Avarice, to take Place of the Divine Precepts which form the Glory of Kings and Happiness of their Subjects. You know, my Lord, that Courage, by way of Excellence, is called Virtue, and that because it is founded on the Love of Happiness, and directed in all its Motions by Equity, Moderation and Goodness. True Heroes make their Victories become profitable to those they conquer, and raise for themselves immortal Trophies of Honour, by subduing Resentment and Revenge, Passions so natural to Mankind,

gyle's Army, at the Battle of *Dunblaine*, but afterwards joined the Earl of *Mar*. He was pardoned at the Intercession of his Father; lived privately in *Scotland* to the breaking out of the last Rebellion, into which he went very early, and in which he was engaged, when, by the Death of his elder Brother, who was a Judge, he came to the Title. He was of a warm impetuous Temper, but very open, candid, and sincere. His Fortune was very narrow, but he had a great and generous Mind. He was very firm to what he called his Principles, and behaved, during his Misfortunes, with an Intrepidity, and even Carelessness, which would have been unbecoming rather than laudable, if they had not plainly proceeded from his natural Disposition, and from a Temper of Mind equally incapable of Artifice and Affectation. He behaved at his Trial cheerfully and decently, nor were his Spirits discomposed in the least on the nearer Approach of Death. He entertained no Hopes of Mercy, indeed he had no great Reason; but however he did not throw away his Life, or pretend to despise the King's Favour, since, when he was last before them, he desired the Interposition of his Peers. His Lady, *Margaret*, Daughter of Captain *Chalmers*, dutifully attended him to his last Moments, and the only Concern her Lord expressed was upon her Account. She was with him when the dead Warrant came down, which found them at Table; it threw her, as might be naturally expected, into a great Agony. His Lordship did all he could to comfort her, and then said, It shall not spoil my Dinner; nor did it; which better explains this Lord's Character than could be done by a laboured Discourse. His Lordship was in his fifty-eighth Year, had a very small Estate, and no Children to inherit either it or his Titles.

On the 18th of *August*, 1746, about Eight in the Morning, the Sheriffs *Blachford* and *Cockayne* went to the Tower to receive the Prisoners, and about Ten they were brought out. As soon as Lord *Balmerino* saw the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, he embraced him, and said, I am heartily sorry, my Lord, to have your Company in this Expedition. After he came out, hearing the People enquire which was Lord *Balmerino*, he turned towards them, and said with a Smile, I am Lord *Balmerino*, Gentlemen, at your Service. The Lords were then conducted to a House prepared for their Reception, where Lord *Kilmarnock* spent about an Hour in his Devotions with Mr. *Foster*. After which Lord *Balmerino*, who desired it, was admitted to speak with him, which he did in order to remove all Credit from a Report, that the young Pretender had signed an Order for giving no Quarter at the Battle of *Culloden*. The Earl said, he knew of no such Order, but had heard there was one found signed by Lord *George Murray*. This Point settled, they embraced, and Lord *Balmerino* said, my dear Lord, I am only sorry that I cannot pay this Reckoning alone: Once more farewell for ever. The Earl was called to suffer first; he appeared upon the Scaffold dressed in Black, with a very serene Countenance; he said to the Chaplain of the Tower, who was with him, *Home*, this

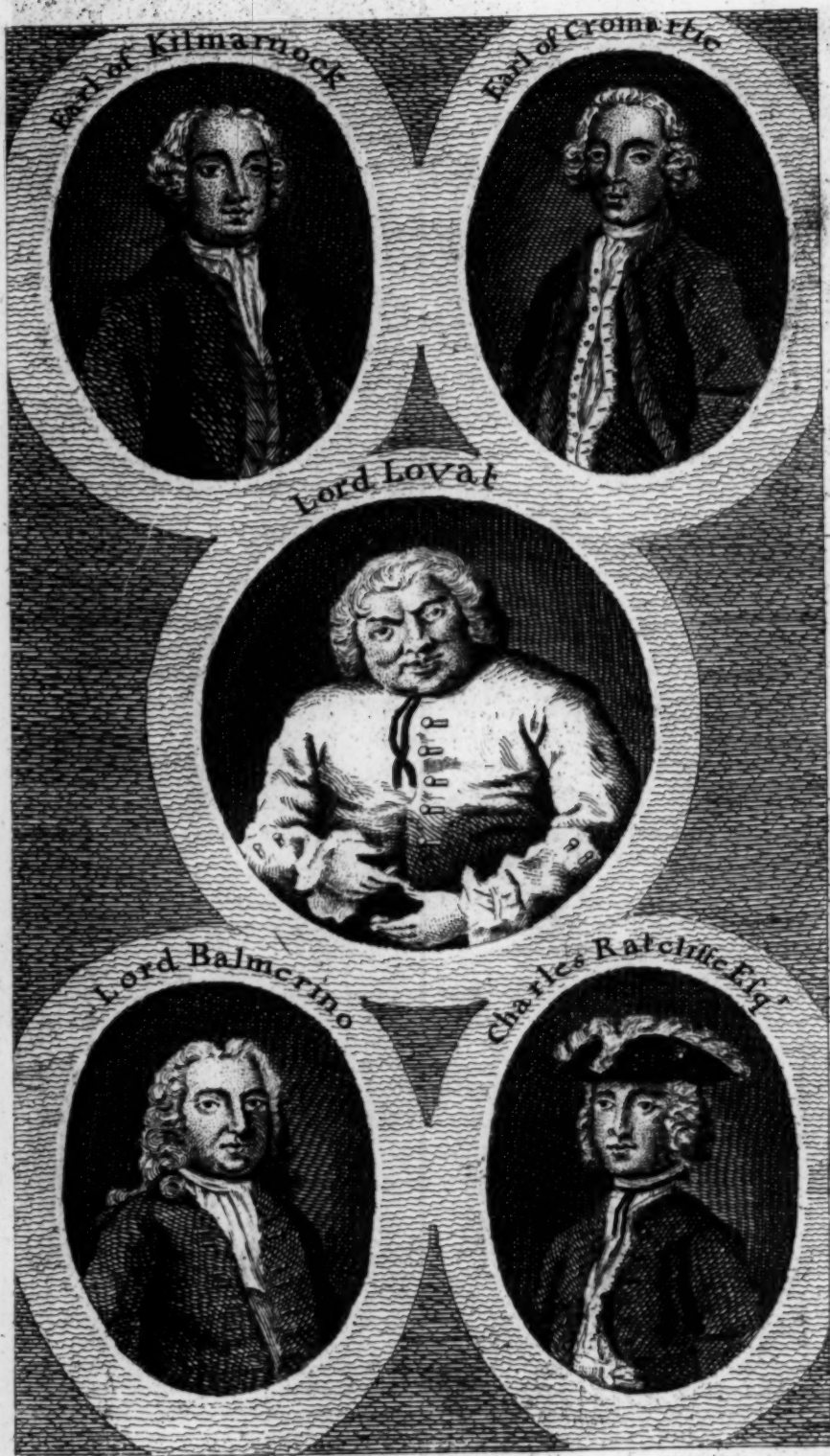
is terrible ! And perhaps he would have said the same Thing had he been a Spectator. He gave the Executioner five Guineas ; prepared himself for Death with great Composure of Mind ; made a short Prayer, in which he put up a Petition for his Majesty King George and his Royal Family ; and kneeling at the Block about two Minutes, he gave the Signal, and his Head was severed from his Body at a single Stroke, tho' the Executioner was so much affected that he shed Tears.

When the Under-Sheriff came to call Lord Balmerino, he asked whether it was over with the Earl of *Kilmarnock* ; and being told it was, he asked how the Executioner performed his Office ; and when he was informed, said, it was well done. Then addressing himself to the Company, said, *Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer*, and, with an easy unaffected Chearfulness, saluted his Friends and hastened to the Scaffold, which he mounted with so easy an Air as astonished the Spectators. His Lordship was dressed in his Regimentals, a Blue Coat turned up with Red, trimmed with Brass Buttons (and a Tye-Wig) the same which he wore at the Battle of *Culloden*. No Circumstance in his Deportment shewed the least sign of Fear : He walked several times round the Scaffold, bowed to the People, went to his Coffin, read the Inscription, and with a Nod said, *It is Right*. He then examined the Block, which he called his *Pillow of Rest*. His Lordship putting on his Spectacles, and taking a Paper out of his Pocket, read it with an audible Voice, which was so far from being filled with passionate Invectives, that he mentioned his Majesty as a Prince of the greatest Magnanimity and Mercy. Having delivered this Paper to the Sheriff, he called for the Executioner, who appearing, and being about to ask his Lordship's Pardon, he said, "Friend, you need not ask me Forgiveness, the Execution of your Duty is commendable." Upon which his Lordship gave him three Guineas, saying, "Friend, I never was rich, this is all the Money I have now ; I wish it was more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my Coat and Waistcoat ;" which he then took off together with his Neckcloth, and threw them on his Coffin, putting on a Flannel Waistcoat which had been provided for the Purpose ; and then taking a Plaid Cap out of his Pocket, he put it on his Head, saying, he died a *Scotchman*. After kneeling down at the Block to adjust his Posture, and shew the Executioner the signal for the Stroke, which was dropping his Arms, he once more turned to his Friends and took his last Farewel, and looking round on the Croud, said, "Perhaps some may think my Behaviour too bold ; but remember, Sir, (said he to a Gentleman who stood near him) that I now declare it is the Effect of Confidence in God and a good Conscience, and I should dissemble if I should shew any signs of Fear." He clap'd the Executioner on the Back, and encouraged him to do his Work like a Man, adding, that in that would consist his Kindness. He next ordered his Hearse to drive near, and then knelt down at the Block, giving the Sign so unexpectedly, that the Executioner was in Confusion, and could not perform

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Mankind, and so difficult to get the better of. Thus has Clemency been revered by wise Men in all Ages, as the most magnanimous, the most useful, and the most pious of all Royal Virtues. I am sensible, my Lord, that I am guilty of an Indiscretion, in laying before you what Wisdom, Experience and Religion have so strongly impressed upon your Heart. It is not that I presume to add to your Conviction, but how is it possible to forbear insisting on a Subject which we love? To know Truth, and be inflamed with its divine Beauties, is, as your Excellency well knows, but one and the same Thing. May two so great Kings never cease to emulate, 'which shall be the highest Example of Humanity, Clemency and Greatness of Soul. May their Love to Mankind increase and add daily to their Glory, and cause it to shine with greater Splendor; that their Subjects in particular may owe their Peace, and all *Europe* in general the Re-establishment of its Tranquility to them; that their Wisdom may perpetuate their Memories, and be made Examples of Posterity to the latest Ages; may they long on Earth enjoy the just Return of Human kind, and more and more secure to themselves eternal Happiness hereafter. I have the Honour to be, &c.

Paris, June 2, 1746.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's Answer to M. Van Hoey's Letter,

S I R,

I Did not receive till the Day before Yesterday the Letter which your Excellency was pleased to honour me with, dated the 2d Instant, N. S. inclosing one which the Marquis *D'Argenson* had wrote to you of the 26th of May. I laid it immediately before the King, who was in the greatest Astonishment at the Contents of that Letter, which as well in what relates to the Subject of it, as to the Manner of treating it, is so contrary to his Majesty's Honour and to the Dignity of his Crown, that his Majesty cannot but consider himself as too much offended by it to make any Answer to it. You know, Sir, and so do the *French* Ministers) with how scrupulous an Exactness his Majesty has on his Part executed the Cartel agreed on between him and the most Christian King, in its utmost Extent, even to the releasing on their Parole all the Officers in the *French* Service, who were made Prisoners within the Limits of these Kingdoms, and who were not his Majesty's natural-born Subjects, although the Service on which they were then employed might very justly have excused his Majesty from it. It is impossible, after this, to doubt of his Majesty's sincere Desire to do every thing which the Law of Nations can require between Powers at War with each other, even beyond what is usually practised: But as to what relates to his Majesty's own Subjects, neither the Law of Nations, the Cartels, nor the Practice and Example of any Country, authorize any foreign Power at War with his Majesty, to intrude themselves to make any Demand from his Majesty thereto. The most Christian King knows too well himself the right inherent in every Sovereign, to imagine that his Majesty can think otherwise. I cannot conceal from your Excellency his Majesty's

Surprize, to see that the Ambassador of a Power so strictly united with him, and essentially interested in every thing that concerns the Honour and Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, could charge himself with transmitting to his Majesty so unheard-of a Demand. And I am very sorry, Sir, to be obliged to acquaint you, that his Majesty could not avoid complaining of it to their High Mightinesses the States General, your Masters.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Whitehall, June 3d, 1746.

But this was not all the Mortification that M. *Van Hoey* received; his Majesty's Minister to the States General, *Robert Trevor*, Esq; presented a Memorial to their High Mightinesses, in which he complained of the Indignity offered to the King his Master, in Terms suitable to the Offence. The States General readily promised all the Reparation and Satisfaction in their Power, and accordingly signified to M. *Van Hoey* the Sense they had of his ill Conduct, in stronger Terms than are usually employed by them to Persons in his Station; and at the same Time signified their Pleasure, that he should write to the Duke of *Newcastle* in so submissive a Stile, as to atone for what was past; admonishing him likewise, to avoid every thing capable of giving either Umbrage or Offence for the future.

To all this M. *Van Hoey* gave a very exact Obedience, wrote a very handsome Letter to the Duke, in which he expressed how sensible he was of his Misfortune, and having by his Indiscretion drawn upon himself the Displeasure of his *Britannic* Majesty; and has since that Time given such Marks of the Sincerity, with which he made this Submission, as have procured him Thanks for his good Offices upon subsequent Occasions; so that whatever the *French* Views were in this strange Business, it is certain they were absolutely defeated. But it is now high time to quit this Subject and to return to the Thread of our Narration.

On *Tuesday* the 22d of *July*, the Tryals of those Rebels against whom Bills had been found at *St. Margaret's-Hill* being over, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, in the Presence of Sir *Martin Wright*, Sir *Michael Foster*, Sir *Thomas Reynold*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr. Baron *Clive*, and other Commissioners, passed Sentence of Death upon 17 who had been found Guilty on their Tryals, after having had Council allowed them. Of these the following 8 were Reprieved: viz. *Charles Deacon*, *William Pattragh*, *John Saunderson*, *Christopher Taylor*, *James Wilday*, *Thomas Furnival*, *James Gadd*, and *Alexander Abernethy*.

On *Wednesday* the 30th of the same Month, the other 9 were carried on three Sledges to the Place of Execution (*Kenington-Common*) and there suffered as is usual in Cases of High Treason: viz. *Francis Townley*, Esq; one of an antient Family in *Lancashire*, who acted as Governor at *Carlisle*; *David Morgan*, Esq; Barister at Law; *George Fletcher*, *Thomas Chadwick*, *James Deacon*, *Thomas Deacon*, *John Barwick*, *Andrew Blood*, and *Thomas Siddal*. They died with great Decency and Composure;

Composure; Mr. *Townley* was the only Papist among them; the rest left Papers behind them which were not proper to be published.

The House of Lords having upon the Petition of the three Peers that were Prisoners, granted them Solicitors, and whatever was necessary for their Defence, addressed his Majesty to appoint a Lord High Steward for their Tryals. The same was accordingly done; and the Prisoners on the 28th of *July* were brought before the Peers sitting in *Westminster-Hall*. The Right Hon. *Philip* Lord *Hardwick*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, acting by his Majesty's Commission as Lord High Steward, when *Arthur* Lord *Balmerino* pleaded not guilty; upon which the King's Council opened the Indictment, called the Witnesses for the Crown, and the Fact being plainly proved, their Lordships unanimously found the Prisoner guilty.

On the 30th of the same Month, *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock* being brought before the same Judicature, made a long and moving Speech, and at the same Time pleaded Guilty; as did also *George* Earl of *Cromartie*. At the same Time the Lord *Balmerino* moved in Arrest of Judgment, and at his Request had Counsel assigned him to argue the Point if he thought proper. On *Friday* the 1st of *August*, the Lords were again brought up, Lord *Balmerino* having waved the Point he had formerly insisted upon, as being informed by his Counsel that it would be of no Service to him; the Lord High Steward, after addressing himself in a very elegant, pathetic, and tender Speech to the Prisoners, pronounced Sentence as is usual in Cases of High Treason.

It will be expected that we should give some Account of these unhappy Noblemen, who by their Indiscretion in taking up Arms against the Government, subjected themselves to the Loss of Life, and deprived their Families of their Titles and Fortunes. The first of them *George* Earl of *Cromartie*, was of the noble Family of *Mackenzie*, the Chief of which was the late Earl of *Seaforth*, who was in the last Rebellion; his Lordship was the Grandson of the first Earl of *Cromartie*, so well known to the Learned World by the Works he published when Lord Viscount *Tarbat*; and this unhappy Nobleman was himself the second who bore that Title, his Father having never lived to enjoy it. How he came to be embarked in the Rebellion is not easy to be accounted for, as his Lordship had always warmly professed Revolution Principles, and besides was under particular Obligations, as having received considerable Favours from the present Government.

But his Lordship loved Company, and it seems was drawn by Company to do as they did; which was attended with another Misfortune, the drawing his eldest Son the Lord *Macleod*, a very hopeful and promising Youth, into the same Misfortune; who being taken with his Father by the Militia of *Sunderland*, was then, and still is a Prisoner with him in the *Tower*. His melancholy Case, the several Circumstances tending to extenuate his Guilt, his sincere Repentance, the great Distress of his Family, and the affecting Situation of his Countess big with Child, being laid before his Majesty, whose generous Disposition inclines

inclines him always to see the Arguments for Clemency in the strongest Light, he was graciously pleased to relieve him, when the other two Lords were ordered for Execution; and has hitherto spared his Life from the same Motives of Compassion, which frees us from the Necessity of saying any Thing more in relation to him, except that he is said to have expressed all the Duty and Gratitude towards his Majesty, which so high and undeserved a Mark of Mercy ought to excite in the Mind of a Gentleman and a Christian.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was in all respects a very unfortunate Nobleman, descended from a most illustrious Family, honoured some Ages before with several of those Titles which extinguished in him. His Father was eminently attached to the House of *Hanover*, took up Arms on that Side in the Year 1715, when his Son the Lord *Boyd*, tho' but Eleven Years of Age, did Duty; so that he was bred up carefully in those Principles, for disowning which he died; and there is no doubt that he was farther instructed in them at the University of *Glasgow*, where he was bred, and where he distinguished himself by the Liveliness of his Parts rather than his serious Application to his Studies. He had a fine Person, a polite Address, and the Manners of a Gentleman. He married, without the Consent of her Family, the Lady *Anne Livingston*, Heiress of the late Earl of *Callendar* and *Linlithgow*, by which he had a considerable Estate, as he had a small one of his own; but as he was entirely a Man of Pleasure, his Circumstances soon became narrow and uneasy, which is supposed to have been the principal Cause, joined with the Success of the Rebels at *Preston-Pans*, of his going into the Rebellion. He was highly caressed by the young Pretender, who declared him a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of his Guards, and one of his Council. He was taken at the Battle of *Culloden*, and tho' at his Trial he insinuated that he surrendered, yet he retracted this before his Death, and acknowledged he did all he could to make his Escape. He was assisted while under Sentence of Death, by the famous Mr. *Foster*, who took a great deal of Pains to set him once more right in his Political Principles, so that he died a true Penitent, and expressed as much Concern as Man could do for his Miscarriage. He gave great Marks of Sincerity, by doing Justice to his Lady, who was reported to have had a great Share in persuading him to act as he did; of which, however, he fully cleared her, and in every other Respect shewed the utmost Readiness to acknowledge his own Weakness and Infirmities, instead of excusing himself at the Expence of other People. He was in the 42d Year of his Age, and behaved during his Imprisonment, and to the time of his Death, with great Calmness and Decency, so that he was generally and deservedly pitied.

Arthur Lord *Balmerino* was a Man of quite another Disposition. He was of the noble Family of *Elphinston*, who had been educated, as he expressed it himself, in Anti-Revolution Principles; he went however into the Service in Queen *Anne's* Time, and had a Company of Foot, at the Head of which he fought in the Duke of *Argyle's*

perform his Office under three Blows. The Execution being thus over, the Body was carried back to the Tower, and, together with that of the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, deposited in *St. Peter's Church*, in the same Vault where that of the Marquis of *Tullibardin* lies.

On the twenty-second of the same Month, three Rebel Officers *Mac Donald*, *Nicholson*, and *Ogilby* were executed at *Kennington-Common*; and on the 23d the Commissioners at *St. Margaret's-Hill* resumed their session, and Bills were found against thirty-two Persons, as also against the Lord *Macleod*, eldest son to the Earl of *Cromarty*, and *John Murray Esq;* of *Broughton*, the Pretender's Secretary, who were not brought up, as being intended to experience his Majesty's Mercy. The greatest part of these unfortunate People were found guilty; and, that we may finish this Subject at once, we shall observe, that on *Friday* the 28th of *November*, *Sir John Wedderburn*, Bart. *John Hamilton*, Esq; *James Bradshaw*, *Andrew Wood*, and *Alexander Leith* were executed; Colonel *Farquharson* and *Thomas Watson* being reprieved in the Morning, and *James Lindsay* just as he was going into the Sledge. This was the last Execution in the Neighbourhood of *London*, of such as were condemned by the King's Commissioners in *Southwark*.

As for the Rebels that were Prisoners in the North, they were tried partly at *Carlisle*, and partly at *York*, the Assizes being opened at the first-mentioned City on the 12th of *August*, before the Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, Mr. Justice *Burnet*, Mr. Justice *Dernison*, and Mr. Baron *Clark*, and continued by proper Adjournments, (that of the 9th of *September* being after they returned from *York*) to the 26th of the same Month, when the whole of their Business was finished there, when ninety-one received Sentence of Death, twenty-six were acquitted, and twenty-nine discharged, no Bills being found against them. On *Saturday* the 18th of *October* were executed at *Carlisle*, *Thomas Cappock* a Clergyman, *John Henderson*, *John M' Naughton*, *James Brand*, *Daniel M' Daniel* of *Kinloch Moidart*, *Daniel M' Daniel* of *Taran Rusb*, *Francis Buchannan* of *Arnprior*, *Hugh Cameron* and *Edward Roper*. And on *Tuesday* the 21st were executed at *Brampton* near *Carlisle*, *Peter Taylor*, *Michael Delaird*, *James Forbes*, *Richard Morrison*, *Alexander Hutchinson*, *James Innis*, *Donald M' Donald*, *Peter Lindsey*, and *Thomas Park*. On *Saturday* *December* the 15th *Sir Archibald Primrose*, Bart. and ten others were executed at *Carlisle*.

The Proceedings at *York* before the Lord *Irwin*, Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, *Sir Thomas Burnet*, &c. began on the 2d of *October*, and ended on the 7th, when there were 70 Persons received Sentence of Death. On the 1st of *November* following, the after-named ten Persons were executed there, viz. *George Hamilton*, *Edward Clavering*, *Donald Frazer*, *Charles Gordon*, *Benjamin Mason*, *James Mayne*, *William Conolly*, *William Dempsey*, *Angus M' Donald*, and *James Sparks*. They died decently; two of their Heads were set up on *Michel gate-*

Bar, and Captain Hamilton's sent in a Box to *Carlisle*. On that Day Sevennight, there were Eleven more executed at the same Place, and on the 15th *James Read* suffered there by himself. These, with seven other Persons that were executed at *Penrith*, were all the Rebels that died in the *North*; many of those that were condemned have been pardoned, and the rest are to be sent to the Plantations.

On Friday the 21st, *Charles Ratcliff*, Esq; was brought under a strong Guard in a Coach, from the *Tower*, to the Court of *King's-Bench* in *Westminster-Hall*, to be arraigned on his Sentence in the Year 1716, when he escaped out of *Newgate*. He pleaded that he was a Subject to the King of *France*, in which Country he had resided 30 Years, and had his Commission; and that he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, meaning that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*; then a Jury was ordered to be impannelled to find him the identical Person. On Saturday the 22d, Mr. *Ratcliffe* being brought up to the Bar of the Court of *King's-Bench* was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his Hand, or acknowledge any Jurisdiction but that of the King of *France*, insisting on a Commission he had in his Pocket from the *French King*, and appealing to his *Sicilian Majesty's* Minister, who was present in Court; but on hearing his former Indictment and Conviction, which were read to him in *English*, he said he was not the *Charles Ratcliffe* therein named, but that he was the Earl of *Derwentwater*; and his Council informed the Court, that this was the Plea he relied on; to which the Attorney-General replied with his Averment of his being the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, and thereupon Issue was joined. Then the Council for the Prisoner moved to put off his Tryal upon his own Affidavit (to which he had subscribed *The Count de Derwentwater*) that two of his material Witnesses, naming them, were abroad, without whose Testimony he could not safely go to Tryal. This Affidavit not proving satisfactory, because the Prisoner did not therein aver, that he was not the Person formerly attainted, a Jury was impannelled, one of whom he challenged peremptorily, which the Court disallowed; then the rest of the Jury were sworn, and after a clear Evidence of the Identity of the Person on the Part of the Crown, the Prisoner producing none on his Part, the Jury withdrew about ten Minutes, and then found their Verdict, that he was the same *Charles Ratcliffe* who was convicted of Treason in the Year 1716. Then the Attorney-General moved to have Execution awarded against the Prisoner on his former Judgment; to which the Prisoner's Council objected, tendering a Plea of pardon by Act of Parliament in Bar of Execution. But the Court said, as he had already pleaded such a Plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remained for them to do at present, but to award Execution, and ordered a Rule to be made for the proper Writs for his Execution on the 8th of the next Month, and in the mean Time remanded the Prisoner to the *Tower*.

This unfortunate Person was in the 53d Year of his Age, and may be truly said to have passed through a very stormy and troublesome Life,

Life. He was the younger Brother of the unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who suffered for the last Rebellion in the Year 1715. They were the Sons of Sir *Francis Radcliffe*, by *Mary Tudor*, natural Daughter to King *Charles II.* by *Mary Davis*, descended from the ancient and noble Family of the *Radcliffs* Earls of *Suffex*. He was a Prisoner in *Newgate*, and under Sentence of Death, when his Brother suffer'd; but after receiving several Reprieves, made his Escape from thence when his Life was in no Danger. He went immediately to *France*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he did not continue long, which was said to be owing to the Warmth of his Temper, and falling into frequent Quarrels; he returned to *Paris*, where he married the Widow of Lord *Newburgh*, by whom he had a Son, who was taken, and continued some Time a Prisoner with him in the *Tower*. His rough Behaviour at his Trial, which seems to have been purely the Effect of his natural Temper, left no Room for Pardon. He was informed of this by a Letter from his Niece, the Lady *Petre*, on the 4th of *December*, and thereupon changed his Behaviour entirely, desiring the Assistance of one Mr. *Baker* to prepare himself for Death, which he met with the Calmness of a *Stoic*, and the Resignation of a Christian.

On Monday the 8th of *December* all Things were put in order for his Execution, tho' the Notice was so short that the Carpenters were forced to work on the Scaffold on *Sunday*, and all the following Night. In the Morning about Ten o'Clock, the Block with a Cushion, both covered with Black, were brought up and fixed on the Stage, and soon after Mr. *Radcliff's* Coffin, covered with black Velvet, with eight Handles, which with the Nails were gilt with Gold, but there was no Plate or Inscription upon it. At near Eleven the Sheriffs, Mr. Alderman *Winterbottom* and Mr. Alderman *Alsop*, with their Officers, came to see if the Scaffold was finished, and if every Thing was prepared for Mr. *Radcliff's* Reception; which being to their Satisfaction, they went to the Tower and demanded the Body of Mr. *Radcliff*, of General *Williamson*, Deputy Governor; upon being delivered he was put into a Landau, and carried over the Wharf, at the End of which he was put into a Mourning Coach, and conveyed into a small Booth, joining to the Stairs of the Scaffold, lined with Black, where he spent about half an Hour in his Devotion; and then, preceded by the Sheriffs, the Divine, and some Gentlemen his Friends, came to the Place of Execution.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he took leave of his Friends with great Serenity and Calmness of Mind; and having spoken a few Words to the Executioner, gave him a Purse of ten Guineas, and put on a Damask Cap, kneeled down to Prayers which lasted about seven Minutes, all the Spectators on the Scaffold kneeling with him: Prayers being over, he pulled off his Cloaths, and put his Head on the Block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few Words, he kneeled down to it, and fixing his Head, in about two Minutes gave the Signal to the Executioner, who at three Blows struck it off, which was received in a Scarlet Cloth held for that Purpose. He was dressed

in Scarlet faced with black Velvet trimmed with Gold, a Gold-laced Waistcoat, and a white Feather in his Hat. He behaved with the greatest Fortitude and Coolness of Temper, and was no way shocked at the Approach of Death; on the contrary, he met it with the utmost Serenity and Composure. He was buried on the 11th at Night in St. Giles's in the Fields, near the Remains of his Brother.

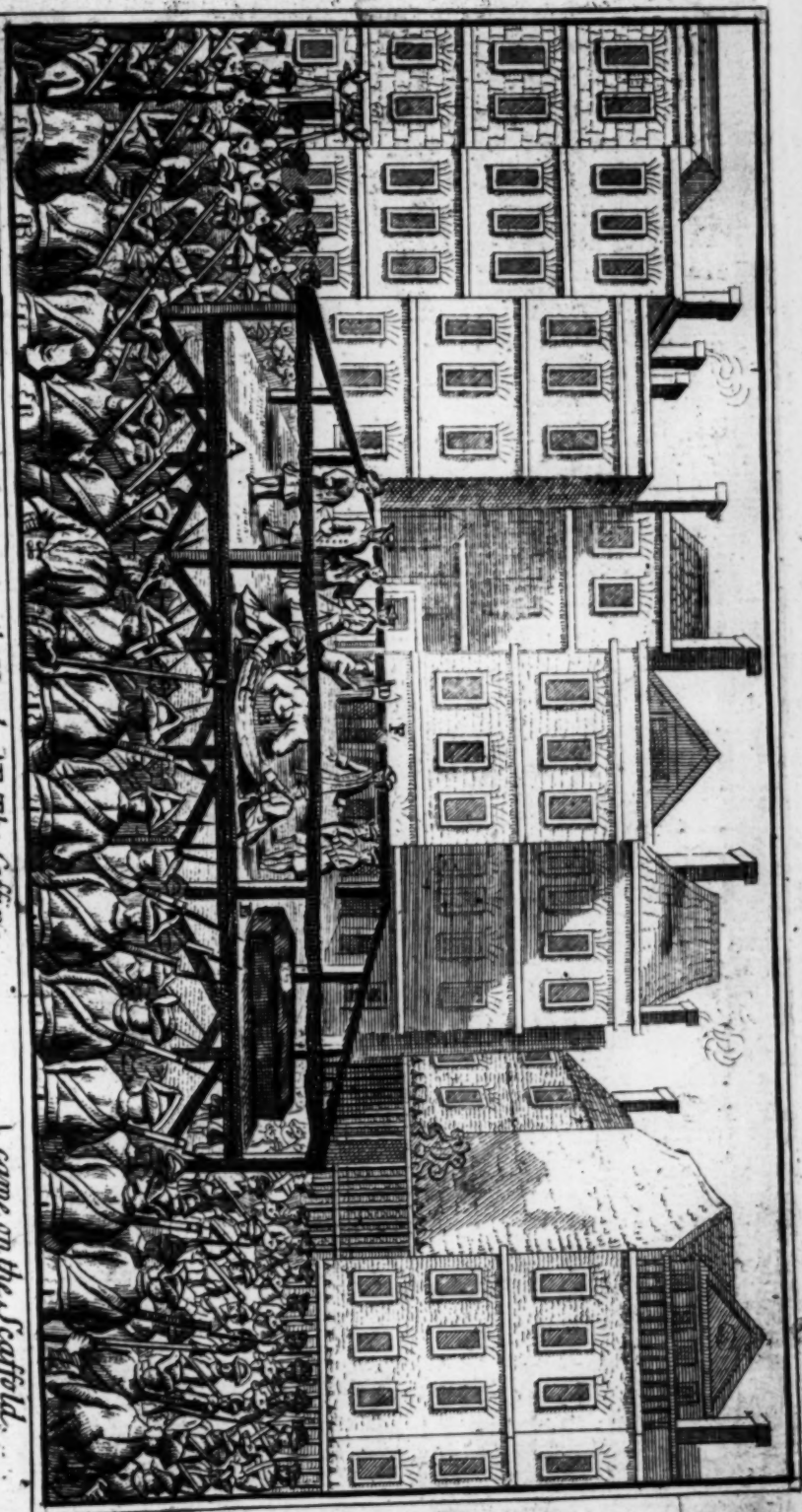
The last Person we have to mention upon this Occasion, is *Simon Lord Frazer of Lovat*, who being taken in the Highlands and sent up Prisoner to *London*, remained a long Time confined in the *Tower*; and as the Adventures of the former Part of his Life made his Lordship's Story pretty well known, there is no need that we should dwell long upon it here.

He was certainly a very extraordinary Man, and as he took care to make himself known in his Youth by carrying off the Lady *Lovat*, so he distinguished his Middle Age by the Conduct he pursued in *Scotland* during the last Rebellion, in the Suppression of which, without Doubt, he had a very large Share, at least this was the Sentiment of the late Earl of *Mar*, whose common Saying it was, that *Lovat* broke all his Measures. When near Fourscore, he engaged in the Rebellion, for which he was impeached by the House of Commons, who charged him with several Acts of Treason, such as engaging in traitorous Designs so early as 1719; sending over Agents to manage his Schemes in Foreign Countries; accepting Commissions and a Patent creating him Duke *Frazer*, from the Pretender to his Majesty's Crown; corresponding with his Son; raising his Clan, &c. All which Lord *Lovat* positively deny'd by his Answer.

The King having appointed the Lord Chancellor Lord High Steward, his Lordship was brought to his Trial on Monday the 9th of *March* last, and being unanimously found Guilty by his Peers, the House of Commons on the 19th of the same Month demanded, and his Lordship received Judgment in the usual Manner; on the 3d of *April* the Dead Warrant came down for his Execution, and he suffered accordingly on the 7th. He kept up not only his Spirits but his Gaiety to the very last, and died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

Thus we have brought this History down from the first Contrivance of the Rebellion abroad, to the Death of the last Person who suffered for it, with all the Clearness, Candour, and Exactness in our Power, and from the best Lights we could procure; and we shall conclude it with a hearty Wish, that nothing of the like Kind may happen for the future; but that the *British* Nation may live in the quiet Possession of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties, under the auspicious Government of the ROYAL FAMILY, till Time shall be no more; with a continual Increase of Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity at home, and of Respect and Glory abroad.

A The Scaffold. | C Cloth to receive the Head. | E The Coffin.
B Lord Lovells head on a Block. | D The Executioner with a Axe. | F The House from which he
came on the Scaffold.



11/60

Henry Fielding V

1st London 17

155

